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Staveley

E Libri
Jacob. H

THE ROMISH HORSELEECH:

OR,

An Impartial ACCOUNT of the intolerable CHARGE

OF

POPERY to this NATION,

IN AN

HISTORICAL REMEMBRANCE

OF SOME OF

Thoſe prodigious Sums of Money heretofore extorted from all Degrees, during the Exerciſe of the Papal Power here.

TO WHICH IS ANNEXED

An ESSAY of the SUPREMACY of the King of ENGLAND.

By THOMAS STAVELEY, Eſq.

Quantas Divitias comparavit nobis hæc Fabula Chriſti!
Verè enim Hortus Deliciarum Papis fuit tum Anglia & Puteus inexhauſtus.

Innocent. IV. Pap.

LONDON,

Printed for R. BALDWIN, in PATER-NOSTER-ROW; T. DAVIES, in RUSSELL-STREET, COVENT-GARDEN, and R. DAVIS, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXIX.

BIBLIOTHECA
REGIA
MONACENSIS.

To the READER.

A GENTLEMAN well verſed in the Antiquities of this Country, has given the EDITOR the following Information concerning the Author of this valuable Work.

THOMAS STAVELEY, *Eſq.* of *Cuſſington* in *Leiceſterſhire*, was admitted of the *Inner-Temple*, *July* the 2d, 1647, and was called to the Bar the 12th of *June*, 1654. He was Steward of the Court of Records at *Leiceſter*, and died 1683.

IN the Reign of CHARLES the IId. when the Court eſpouſed the Cauſe of Popery, and the preſumptive Heir to the Crown openly profeſſed himſelf a Roman Catholic; when our moſt eminent Divines exerted all their Abilities in Defence of the Church of *England*, Mr. STAVELEY took the moſt probable Method to alarm the Public in Behalf of their Property; and, in the Year 1674, publiſhed the ROMISH HORSE-LEECH; a Work well Calculated to demonſtrate, that the Court of *Rome* had

had from Time immemorial, been guilty of the moſt enormous Exactions in this Country.

THE late Mr. SAMUEL CARTE, Brother to the Hiſtorian, an eminent Antiquary, and Sollicitor in Chancery, gave this Information to the Gentleman who communicated this Intelligence to the EDITOR: His Father, Mr. SAMUEL CARTE, Vicar of St. *Martin*'s, in *Leiceſter*, was intimately acquainted with the Author of the HORSELEECH. Some Years before Mr. STAVELY died, he retired from Buſineſs, and ſpent the Remainder of his Time in the Study of the Hiſtory of our Nation, and was univerſally eſteemed, being conſidered as a diligent, judicious, and faithful Antiquary. He was alſo Author of the Hiſtory of Churches in *England*, which was publiſhed 1712, long after his Death.

THIS very curious Work is now become extremely ſcarce. If the Republication of the HORSELEECH ſhould be encouraged, It may induce the EDITOR to give a New Edition of Mr. STAVELEY's valuable Hiſtory of Churches.

TO

TO HIS

HONOURED FRIEND, *A. B.*

SIR,

WHEN you and myſelf, in an Exerciſe of Friendſhip and Converſation, (which I always eſteemed no ſmall Felicity of my Life) have frequently, within a few Years laſt paſt, entertained ourſelves, in taking together a View of our preſent Times, and ſometimes again making a Retroſpect to the Times of our Fore-fathers in this Kingdom; not forgetting alſo, that ſometimes, by Way of Proſpect, we have made no leſs than a Kind of Prophets of ourſelves in gueſſing at what might hereafter come to paſs amongſt us, for

Μάντις ἄριστος, ὅστις εἰκάζει καλῶς. Eurip.

Him the beſt Prophet we confeſs,
That well of future Things can gueſs.

But, for what is paſt, we have made ſome Remarks upon thoſe Viciſſitudes and Changes, which we and our Anceſtors have ſeen in this Kingdom, and, particularly noting the different State and Poſture of the ſame, we concluded that the Alteration and Change muſt needs have been very great, as to the moſt important Concerns of the Nation, ſince the Power and Juriſdiction of the Popes of *Rome* were here exauctorated. Upon this, as I remember, we wiſhed ſome particular Account of the State and Habit of our Body Politic, when the Influences from *Rome* were predominant over it; and that, as well in Reference to our Head, the King's Majeſty, as alſo to the Members, the People; wherein we deſired ſeriouſly to know, whether the Pope's Power was prejudicial to them, or either of them.

In this Matter, that I might give ſome Satisfaction to you and myſelf alſo, I ſet myſelf to methodiſe ſuch Notes and Inſtances as had formerly occurred to me; firſt, touching the

Property

Property of the People, and how that was invaded by the *Romiſh* Practices; and, then, touching the Supremacy of the royal Majeſty of the King of *England*, and how that was eclipſed by the Interpoſition of the Papal Power; and, now I have put theſe Collections together, you ſee what they amount to.

I confeſs the Subjects are vaſt and tranſcendent, and not to be meaſured with my Line. The trival Controverſies amongſt Neighbours, about *Meum* and *Tuum*, frequently puzzle the graveſt Judges; but, for the Fundamental *Arcana Imperii*, he that ſhall endeavour to poiſe them ſhall ſooner diſcover the Weakneſs of his own Arm, than their Weight; I have known the united Strengths of Parliaments put to Puffing and Blowing, when they have lifted at them. But, as the Divines ſay of the Holy Scriptures, though they contain many Myſteries, and *Things hard to be underſtood*, yet there is plainly and clearly delivered in them ſo much as is ſufficient to make Men good *Chriſtians*; ſo, in the

Doctrine of the King's Supremacy, though we cannot reach its utmost Import, there is yet so much of it clearly discoverable, as is sufficient to make all *Englishmen* good Subjects. As to that, I have intitled my Discourse an *Essay* only, not pretending to say all that the Subject affords; and have travelled no farther therein, than our Laws, Statutes, Authorities, and Records have led me; and I hope that thereby I have produced sufficient Demonstration, that our Sovereign is invested with a most just Authority over all his Subjects, and in all Causes within his Dominions; and then, seeing *Veritas est Index sui & obliqui*, it follows, by all the Rules of Consequence, that the Pope's Usurpations were most unjust.

For that other Concern relating to the People's Property, I took that Task, at first, to have been much the easier of the two; that is, that it would not have been very hard to have comprehended and given some reasonable Estimate of those Sums

which

which heretofore went out of *England* to the Popes and Court of *Rome*. But, after a little Dealing therein, I ſtrangely found the Account to ſwell beyond all Bounds, and ſoon experienced the Difficulty to lie as much in the Multiplicity in this, as in the Intireneſs in the other. This Grievance was, and could be, adequately known only to our Anceſtors who felt; but the Smart is not as yet quite worn off of their Poſterity; and therefore what is offered, in this Affair, I have thought fit to ſtyle a *Remembrance*, and, indeed, it ought not to be forgotten.

But now, Sir, I may poſſibly deliver a ſound Paradox, That, though it is conceived a very hard Thing now to underſtand, as formerly it was to endure, and once thought more hard to remedy, all the Miſchiefs which our Fore-fathers ſuffered from the Papal Uſurpation and Tyranny, yet certainly the Cure was not at all Times ſo very difficult to have been effected; the Antidote was as near as the Poiſon; and there never wanted

a *Panpharmacon*, which, if duly applied, would, at any Time, have removed those malignant Distempers that invaded the Kingdom's Constitution; and that was, in a Word, the Execution of the good Laws. It is the Honour and Excellency of the Laws of *England*, that no Man can have a Wrong, or Damage, but the Law, if rightly managed, will do him Right. Did the Papal Power usurp and incroach upon the King's Rights? The inherent Virtue of the Common Law declared all to be illegal and void. Did the *Romish* Practices weaken and impoverish the People? The same Law at once arraigned and damned those Novelties and Grievances; and hence it was that all the supervenient Statutes ran but as declaratory of the old Law. The Law, indeed, may sometimes be laid asleep by Connivance, or manacled by some Contrivance; but it is a true and good Rule *Dormit aliquando Jus, moritur nunquam*; and, when the Law is awakened, and let loose, it

Vid. Coke 5. Rep. Cawdry's Case.

soon

ſoon diſcovers and breaks all Offences and Offenders.

The incomparable *Spenſer*, in his *Fairy Queen*, ſets forth one Sir *Arthegal*, the Patron of Juſtice, attended with *Talus*, his Iron-man; the Executioner, whom nothing could withſtand; pardon me, if I give you his Deſcription of this notable Officer. Our renowned Poet relating how the Divine *Aſtræa*, loathing to ſojourn longer amongſt wicked Men, retired to Heaven, from whence at firſt ſhe came:

But, when ſhe parted hence, ſhe left her Groom, Fairy Queen. lib. 5. Cant. 1. Stanz. 12.
An Iron-man, which did on her attend,
Alway to execute her ſtedfaſt Doom,
And willed him with Arthegal *to wend,*
And do whatever Thing he did intend.
His Name was Talus, *made of Iron Mould,*
Immoveable, reſiſtleſs, without End;
Who, in his Hand, an iron Flail did hold,
With which he threſh'd out Falſhood, and did Truth unfold.

This

This Iron-man, when commanded and ſet on, could rout ſeditious Multitudes, deſtroy tyrannic Giants, quell hideous Monſters, and knock down inchanted Caſtles; our heroic Laws do no leſs, when, by their commanded Officers, they diſſipate ſuperſtitious Concourſes, truſs up the gigantic *Jeſuit*, drag out the monſtrous Plotters, and batter down that ſecond *Babel* of Confuſion which the Sons of the Earth would be rearing in our *Engliſh* Plain.

What Thoughts theſe Collections and Obſervations will raiſe in you, or others, I can but gueſs at; I am ſure they have ſufficiently diſcovered to me the Drift of the Papal Policy, that is, to eſtabliſh and uphold a ſpiritual Dominion in the World: to effect which, it was neceſſary the Conſciences of Men ſhould firſt be inſlaved by Superſtition and Ignorance; and then, by the Uſurpation of temporal Power, and the Ingroſſing of temporal Riches, the Work was done, and the Papal Intereſt ſo carried all in the

middle

middle and dark Times, when Kings durſt not exerciſe their juſt Authority, nor the People call that which they had their own; and in this Deſpondency it was, that the Laws were muffled up. But when, towards the latter Ages, the Revolution came of Learning and Knowledge, with a Reviviſcence and Improvement of all Arts and Sciences; and Men became tired with Groping ſo long in the Dark, and thoſe great Lights began to dawn in the World; then both Kings and People rouſed up themſelves, and their Spirits revived, the Shades vaniſhed, the Birds of Darkneſs flew away, and the Beaſts of Prey retired to their Dens: every Man then, with Alacrity, addreſſed himſelf to his proper Office; Princes took their Sceptres in their Hands, and ſwayed them again without Controul; the People applied themſelves all to their honeſt Callings, and what they got, by God's Bleſſing, and their own Induſtry, they enjoyed, whilſt they lived; and, when they died, left it to their Poſterity; which

formerly

formerly uſed to be ſnatched away before their Faces by the *Romiſh Harpyes.*

The Conſideration of all which, as it clearly manifeſts the great Abuſes, Poverty, and Slavery, this Nation once, and for a long Time, ſuffered under the Pope's Yoke, ſo it cannot but make us reflect on that proportionable Miſchief which ſtill lies upon thoſe that have not yet ſhaken it off, with this farther Obſervation, how an intire Subjection to Popery corrupts and debaſes the Spirits of Men; for nothing is more obvious, than that, in *Italy*, *Spain*, *Flanders*, and other Countries wholly the Pope's, as to his ſpiritual Reign, the Inhabitants are either the moſt atheiſtical, debauched, and diſſolute; or thoſe, who, with a blind Zeal, apply themſelves to an Obſervance of the Rites of that confuſed and abſurd Religion, preſently become fond and ſtupid, giving themſelves up only to admire their holy Father the Pope, their Confeſſors, and Prieſts, fancying *Rome* to be the true Model

of the heavenly *Jeruſalem*, and the Pope and his Cardinals ruling therein like *Chriſt* and his Apoſtles; gazing upon the Formality and Gaudineſs of their Church, and intangled with a Multitude of ridiculous Ceremonies and Obſervances; all which tends to make them inactive and unfit for all thoſe generous and ingenious Courſes that bring Honour and Riches to a People; when, on the Contrary, the Reformed Part of the World, being manumitted from ſuch Slavery and Incumbrances, beat out the *Popiſh* every-where in Trading, and generally excel them in all Arts and Sciences. And this may be noted in ourſelves, when, preſently after the Reformation, the *Engliſh* grew potent at Sea, ſent forth great Colonies and Plantations, maintained Traffic and Commerce over the World, and brought Home Honour, Plenty, and Riches to the Nation. So the *Netherlanders*, after they had freed themſelves from the *Romiſh* Briars, pre-

ſently

ſently got good Fleeces on their Backs, grew rich and powerful, eclipſing the Glory of *Venice*, that once famous Republic, which hath ever ſince been in the Wane; *Amſterdam* ſupplanted *Antwerp*, *Flanders* trucked under *Holland*, and the Hanſe-Towns, generally Proteſtant, outſtripped all their Popiſh Neighbours in Wealth and Strength; whilſt the once great and dreadful Monarchy of *Spain* is fallen into a Conſumption, ſupported only with a little *Indian* Gold, which they ſometimes ſteal Home; the *Auſtrian* Eagle hath moulted his Feathers, *Portugal* loſing both in their Plantations Abroad, and Reputation at Home; and in thoſe Countries where Proteſtants and Papiſts are mingled, as in *France*, *Germany*, *Poland*, &c. the Proteſtants generally are the Traders, and grow rich, as all Travellers teſtify.

For, beſides that an addicted Zeal to the *Romiſh* Religion contracts and debaſeth the Spirits of Men, their

Guides

Guides endeavour alſo, by all poſſible Means, to contain them in a dull, ignorant, and formal Way; knowing Learning and Knowledge to be their common Enemy, as at once diſcovering and overthrowing all the Superſtructures reared upon their ſandy Foundation. But, then, what Wealth, what Honour, and Riches do their Clergy and Orders enjoy? How glorious the Popes? How ſplendid the Cardinals? How abounding, in Riches and Titles, all their Relations, Kindred, and Dependants? All ſucked from the People. Whilſt, to lull and gratify the abuſed Multitude, they have infinite Devices, they have perpetual Proviſions for the dull Souls in their Cells; the Auſtere may take their Fill of Diſcipline and Rigour; the Impure and Voluptuous have their Conveniencies at Hand; the Lawleſs, who find themſelves too ſtreight-laced, may be eaſed by Diſpenſations; the Credulous ſhall never want Miracles; the Fantaſtical Vi-

ſions; nor the ſuperſtitious Ceremonies; with infinite Baubles more, to keep the uneaſy Babes quiet.

Now, when any Perſon comes to claim or exerciſe any extraordinary Power, or Authority, in a Place, or ſhall levy and take up what Money he pleaſes, he muſt reaſonably expect to have a *Quo Warranto* ſued out againſt him, to which he muſt plead his Title to his Privilege; and that, I muſt confeſs, hath been very fairly done by the Papal Attornies in this Cauſe, on the Behalf of their holy Client; and they have drawn their Plea from the written Text of the Divine Law, in this Manner:

Gen. 1. 16. *God made two great Lights in the Firmament; the greater Light to rule the Day, and the leſſer Light to rule the Night*; from which they infer the infallible Dominion of the Church; for Pope *Innocent* III. wrote to the Emperor of *Conſtantinople* thus:

Epiſt. ad Imp. Decret. lib. 1. de Major. & Obed. Tit. 33. *You ought to know* (ſays he) *that God made two great Lights in the Firmament*

ment of Heaven; the great Light to rule the Day, and the lesser Light to rule the Night; both great, but the one greater. To the Firmament of Heaven, that is, the Catholic Church, God made two great Lights, that is, instituted two Powers, the Papal Authority and the Regal Dignity; but that which is to rule by Day, that is, over spiritual Things, is the greater; and that over carnal Things the less, that there may be known to be as much Difference between Popes and Kings, as there is to be between the Sun and Moon. And then comes the Gloss upon the Canon Law, which says: *Whilst the Earth is seven Times bigger than the Moon; and the Sun eight Times bigger than the Earth; the Papal Power must consequently be fifty seven Times bigger than the Regal Dignity.*

Again, that great *Hebrew* Prophet sets forth a most exact Image of the Royal Papacy in *Melchisedec*, who did prefigure, say they, the Majesty of St. *Peter* and his Successors, who

Campanel. de Mon. Hisp. cap. 5.

had *Melchisedec* for their Prototype: and therefore the Pope must needs be invested with a Royal Priesthood, and armed as well with the civil, as the spiritual Sword; for, if it were otherwise, *Christ*, and so his Vicegerent, would be a diminitive Lawgiver, and not as *Melchisedec*, who was at once both King and Priest.

Further, to fortify this Plea to a Royal Jurisdiction in the World, they alledge that *Jacob* and *Esau* were perfect Types of the *Catholics* and the *Heretics*; signifying that the *Catholics* should abound in Power and Riches; but the *Calvinists* and *Lutherans* should be low and poor; expressed fully in the Salutation of the Angel *Gabriel* to the Virgin *Mary*, *That our Lord the Pope was to rule over the House of* Jacob *for ever, and of his Kingdom there shall be no End*; That is, in a Word, *the Pope is to govern the World.*

Luke 1. 33.

Another Argument to prove this Plea is fetched out of the eighth

Psalm, viz. *Thou hast crowned him with Glory and Honour. Thou makest him to have Dominion over the Works of thy Hands; thou hast put all Things under his Feet: all Sheep and Oxen, yea and the Beasts of the Field, the Fowls of the Air, and the Fish of the Sea*, &c. By this they say, is clearly meant St. *Peter*, and the Power given to him and his Successors in the See of *Rome*; to whom God hath subjected the *Sheep*, that is, the *Christians*; the *Oxen*, that is, the *Jews* and *Heritics*; the *Beast of the Field*, that is, the *Pagans*; the *Fish of the Sea*, that is, the *Souls in Purgatory*; and the *Fowls of the Heaven*, that is, the *blessed Spirits and Angels*.

Psal. 8. 5, 6.

Anton. Sum. Theol. p. 3. cap. 5.

So much for Dominion and Command; now, for Wealth and Riches; nothing is more plain, say they, than the holy Prophet *Isaiah*, speaking of the *Roman* Church: *The Gentiles shall come to thy Light, and Kings to the Brightness of thy Rising: then shalt thou see, and wonder, and rejoice, when the Riches of the Sea, and all the Sub-*

Isa. 6.

ſtance of the Gentiles, ſhall come unto thee; they ſhall bring Gold and Incenſe. The Sons of Strangers ſhall build up thy Walls, and their Kings ſhall miniſter unto thee. Thy Gates ſhall be open Day and Night, that they may bring unto thee the Riches of all Nations, and their Kings ſhall be brought; for the Nation and Kingdom that will not ſerve thee ſhall periſh. The Sons of them that afflicted thee ſhall come bending unto thee, and all they that deſpiſed thee ſhall bow down at the Soles of thy Feet. Thou ſhalt ſuck the Milk of the Gentiles, and ſhalt ſuck the Breaſts of Kings. For Braſs I will bring Gold, and for Iron Silver, and for Wood Braſs, and for Stones Iron. A moſt plain Deſcription of the Glory and Splendor of the *Roman* Church, but the dull Heretics will not underſtand the Meaning; and St. *John*, they ſay, was ſurpriſed with a μικροψυχία, when he deſcribes the Angel refuſing the Honour offered to him, but now dutifully paid to *Chriſt*'s Vicar.

Then,

Then, when Christ told St. *Peter*, that he would make him a *Fisher of Men*, though possibly the innocent and meek Apostle, not fully apprehending the full Import of that Right which thereby was conferred on him, applied himself to a Kind of spiritual Fishing, hunting after some mystical Fishes, to inclose them in the Net of some invisible Kingdom in the Heavens; and Cardinal *Pool* interprets the Donation thus: *Thou and thy Successors shall have Dominion over all Men, ruling over Kings, and commanding, regulating, and casting out Emperors*: yet the good Apostle's more illuminated Successors, have now hit upon the true Import and Meaning, and conclude that Christ did not only give them a Power to fish for Men, but for Money also, and for that Purpose conferred on them a Right to fish in all secular Ponds and Rivers: For *The Kings of the Earth* (says Christ to *Peter*) *from whom do they receive Tribute? not certainly from us, for we*

Regin. Pole in Loc.

are free: But go thou to the Sea, and cast forth a Hook, and take up the first Fish that cometh up; that take, and, when thou hast opened it's Mouth, thou shalt find a Piece of Money, that take. And by this a great fishing Right was established in him, and from him derived to his Successors, that is, to *fish in all Waters*; now, by *Waters*, the Holy Scriptures intend People, and Nations, and Tongues, and Languages: *And Christ commanded* Peter *to launch out into the Deep, and then they inclosed such a Multitude of Fishes, that the Net broke*; and it was very well and pertinently observed by Pope *Innocent* III. that the Meaning of that Advice, or Command, *Launch out into the Deep*, was this, *Go up to* Rome, *which had a vast Dominion over all People, and from whence they might spread their Nets over all the World, to catch all Nations.* And so, in Pursuance of this Right, this Fishing Trade for Money hath been driven with all possible Art and Industry, all the

Serm. 2. in Fest. Petri

World

World over, to the great Profit of the *Roman* Merchants.

But, in Proceſs of Time, ſo it fell out, that ſeveral Kings and States, looking upon theſe *Romiſh* Fiſhermen as Treſpaſſers and Intruders; after a due Examination and Conſideration had of all the Pleas and Allegations in this Matter, and canvaſſing the Pope's Title to a free Piſcary in all Waters, not only upon this Globe, but in the Celeſtial and Infernal Waters alſo; his Title was adjudged and declared to be of no Force or Value, and thereupon he was prohibited to *fiſh* any more in the *Britiſh* Ocean, the *Baltic* Sea, the *Lake Lemane*, and in many Rivers of *Germany*; and he was in great Danger of being prohibited fiſhing alſo in the neighbouring *Adriatic*: ſo that what Prizes he gets now amongſt us, it is by Stealth, and now and then a few ſilly Fiſhes are drawn and enticed into his Nets.

But

But in many Places ſtill the Trade is freely driven, with great Returns, and Profit; how formely it was managed here, the enſuing Pages will make ſome Diſcovery; as alſo how it came to be ſtopped. But certainly vaſt Riches are continually brought in by the Factors of *Rome*, and thereby the Popes, and Cardinals have mightily inriched Sons, Nephews, Relations, and Kindred, and oftentimes raiſed great Families, as thoſe of *Borgio*, *Aldobrandini*, *Sfondrati*, *Caraffi*, *Peretti*, and many more. Yet I have lately met with a notable Obſervation of an intelligent *Roman*, who, with great Reaſon and Experience, informs, That ſeldom, or never, any of thoſe Families proſper, but ſuddenly decay and wither; And that, if any one pleaſe but to run over the Actions of all the Popes, and the Hiſtories of their Families, he will find it an infalliable Truth, that they are all either extinct, or reduced unto a very mean, inconſiderable Condition; as if Heaven would

Il Nipotiſmo di Roma, P. 2. lib. 3. fo. 163.

not

not endure the Patrimony of St. *Peter* ſhould be made an univerſal Scandal to the World, be an Occaſion of Eterniſing the Memory of the Sacrilege they have committed.

The Obſervator proceeding to give this further Reaſon, Becauſe, ſays he, it ſo pleaſes God not to ſuffer thoſe, who have raiſed themſelves unto that Greatneſs out of the Bowels of thoſe in Purgatory, to continue long without ſome ſignal Mark of his Diſpleaſure: Heaven is offended to ſee ſacred Things transformed into Profane: Alms into Theft: Churches into Palaces: Altars into Lordſhips: Holy Things into Comedy and Sport: Divine Worſhip into Adoration of Riches, or rather Adoration into Riches.

And as this was, and is one Way ſtill, of employing the Church's Treaſure, *viz.* to raiſe Families, and inrich *Nephews*, &c. So you ſee what it comes to at laſt: And, becauſe the Popes are generally choſen old Men, their Kindred and *Nephews*, as their

Diſcretion

Discretion dictates, make the best Use of their Time, and with all Greediness ingross all that they can, whilst the old Gentleman is supported with Cordials: neither are they satisfied with what can be fingered at present but Reversions and Remainders must be secured also; nay, to above five or six of Pope *Urban*'s little Cousins at one Time there were Benefices and Preferments given, while they were yet rocking in their Cradles; And sometimes Benefices have been disposed of to those that were not yet born, for, in the Articles of Marriage, not long since, of one of the *Barberini's*, with a Lady of the Family of *Colonna*, this was one, That a certain Abbey should be given to the First-born Son.

Ido. fo. 91.

But now, Sir, I cannot but tell you of a certain Difficulty, which I have often ruminated upon, being a great Inconsistence, as I have conceived, in the *Roman* Church: And that is, That this external Splendor, Glory, and

Riches,

Riches, ſhould, by ſome, be urged as an infallible Mark of the true Church: To ſee the Majeſty of the Son of God ſet forth in the Exaltation of the Pope, his Vicegerent, ſeated in a glorious Throne; adorned with a triple Crown, and other ſuitable Habiliments; Emperors holding his Stirrop, and laying their Necks before him to be trod upon; to ſee him ſerved at the Table by Kings, and offering his Toe to be kiſſed with great Reverence and Devotion by Perſons of the higheſt Quality; to ſee him aſſiſted by a Conclave of glorious Cardinals, and with them appearing like the Mayor and Aldermen of this bleſſed Corporation: All which, they ſay, muſt needs be the characteriſtical Marks of the true Vicar of the King of Kings, and Lord of Lords, who, by his Royal *Charter*, hath inveſted his Subſtitute, and his Aſſociates, with theſe Honours. When again, by others in the ſame Church, and thoſe of great Repute amongſt

them, the true Marks and Signs of the Catholicſhip thereof are made to conſiſt in wilful Poverty, in going bare-foot and bare-legged, in Watchings, Faſting, and Penances, in going attired in Sackcloth, tattered and louſey Rags, in ſhewing ſour and mortified Looks, and bloody Backs; affirming, that, for an Eminence in theſe Severities, it was that the glorious St. *Francis* is now advanced to the vacant Throne of *Lucifer*, the higheſt Place in Heaven, becauſe he was the pooreſt Wretch on Earth. I now ſay, to which of thoſe ſo different Characters, or Marks, ſhall we apply ourſelves; and from whence, ſeeing they are not yet agreed amongſt themſelves, ſhall we take our Meaſures to pitch upon the true Church, whether from Riches, or Poverty; from Honour, or Contempt; from Rule, or Subjection; from a plump; or a macerated Look; from outward Gorgeouſneſs, or Poorneſs of Spirit: I muſt confeſs myſelf at a Stand and ſhall take a little Time to conſider of it.

But

But I will detain you no longer with these Speculations: and for these subsequent Remarks, which were conceived at your Instance, I now put them into your Hands; but, if you suffer them to fall under the Eyes of any such as shall be startled, or offended at them, I know not how they will help themselves: It is a hard Matter to answer Demonstrations, and Matters of Fact, drawn from the most authentic Registers, and Manifesto's of Time, which hath been my Work chiefley to exhibit. And, if I should have proceeded to have set forth all that Train of Vanities, and Mischiefs which attend Popery, it would have been infinite, and far exceeded my designed Limits: besides, it would be no News to you, who can far better decypher them than myself. But, for this which is already done, I give it wholly to your Disposal, as also is

Your humble Servant, &c.

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AN

AN

HISTORICAL ACCOUNT,

OR, A

REMEMBRANCE

OF SOME OF THOSE

SUMS of MONEY heretofore going out of ENGLAND

TO THE

PAPACY, and COURT of ROME,

WHEN THE

POPE exercised his POWER here.

I Will not pretend to be as exact in the Account and Computation, as the Pope's Officers were in the Collections of those Sums; when I find a Statute affirming the Ways, Means, and Instruments of drawing the same to have been infinite. I shall therefore only profess to give you a Remembrance of some, for a Taste of all the rest, *Ex ungue Leonem*, &c. And, in Pursuance of our Purpose, we will begin with the *Peter-pence*; which at first though but a Donative, or Alms, as shall be presently shewed, yet by the Inference of a Right from Prescription of Time, and the Manner of Exaction, at last it became a Burden, and an Incumbrance to the whole Nation: And,

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21.

 though

though this was but ſmall, in reſpect of other Payments, yet Time ſwelled them to a vaſt Account.

CHAP. I.

PETER-PENCE.

Cowell Interp. in verbo. Spelm. Gloſſ. Matt. Weſtm. in An. 727. Polychron. lib. 5. cap. 24. Antiquit. Britt. fo. 58. 69.

PEter-pence, *Denarii Sancti Petri*, called, in the *Saxon* Tongue, *Romefeoh*, the Fee of *Rome*, and ſometimes alſo *Romeſcot*, and *Rome-penny*, was, if we may ſo properly term it, a Tribute of Alms, given by the ancient *Saxon* Kings to the See of *Rome*. Some ſay that *Ina*, a King of the *Weſt-Saxons*, was the firſt Donor about the Year 720, at ſuch Time as he was in Pilgrimage at *Rome*. Others ſay that *Offa*, a King of the *Mercians*. firſt gave them about the Year 790. But probably the Truth may be, and *Matt. Weſtm.* inſinuates no leſs, that, theſe being Kings of ſeveral Kingdoms in the *Saxon* Heptarchy, each of them might be the firſt Donor within their reſpective Dominions. The Occaſion upon which *Offa* gave the ſame is ſtoried thus: *Ethelbert* King of the *Eaſt-Angles*, a virtuous Prince, being perſuaded by his Council to *marry*, againſt his own Inclination, went to *Offa*, in Deſign to obtain his Daughter *Athilrid* to Wife; but King *Offa*'s Wife, being averſe to the Match, in a treacherous Manner cauſed *Ethelbert* to be ſlain; whereupon *Offa*, in ſome ſort to ex-

Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 311. Acts and Mon. fol. 103.

piate

piate that horrid Act, gave the *Peter-pence* to St *Peter*'s Church in *Rome*. But at last, by *Adelwolph*, this tributary Alms was ratified, and given throughout the whole Kingdom.

Chro. Jo. Brompt. Coll. 776.

The Charter whereby King *Offa* gave the *Peter-pence* remains still extant under Seal, as Sir *Edw. Coke* affirms: Which if true, it was not heeded by such as have affirmed, that the first sealed Charter, that we have in *England*, is that of King *Edward* the Confessor, upon his Founding of *Westminster* Abbey; and that in Imitation of the *Normans*, amongst whom he had been educated. But Sir *Edw. Coke* adds further, that the Sealing of Charters and Deeds is much more ancient than some have imagined; and to that Purpose, besides that sealed Charter of King *Offa*, he makes Instance in a Charter of King *Edwin*, Brother of King *Edgar*, bearing Date *An. Dom.* 956, under his own Seal, with the Seal also of the Bishop of *Winchester* to it; and this long before the *Normans* Entrance. But this by the Way only.

1. Instit fo. 7. a. W. Dugdale Antiq. of Warw. 138. 673. Vid. Matt. Paris in vita Roberti Abb. St. Albani. fo. 80.

For the *Peter-pence*, which in the *Saxon* Laws are often termed *Regis Eleemosyna*, it was a Penny for every House in which was Twenty Penny-worth of any kind of Goods, to be paid yearly on *Lammas* Day. And in K. *Edward*'s Laws there is a very strict Constitution for the Payment of them; so that in Time it was esteemed, *consuetudo quasi Apostolica*, as *Matt. Westm.* hath it, *à qua neque Rex, neque Archiepiscopus, Abbas, vel*

Sim. Dunelm. Coll. fo. 150. Stow Annal. fo. 26.

Lambert fo. 78.

Jornall. Col. 871.

Prior, aut aliquis in regno immunis erat. Only I find that the Monaſtery of St. *Alban*'s, in Honour of that Proto-Martyr, to whoſe Memory it was founded, was alone quit, as to that Charge; and that by the Indulgence of King *Offa*, as *Mat. Weſtm.* relates.

Camb. Britt. fo. 410. Spelm. Concil Tom. 1. fo. 311.

This Payment, as before is ſaid, at firſt, and for a long Time, was termed and eſteemed, as indeed it was, a Tribute of Alms; being ſtyled, in the Laws of *Canutus*, *Larga Regis benignitas*; and, in thoſe of the Confeſſor, *Regis Eleemoſyna*: And ſo it was received alſo by the Court of *Rome*, as Pope *Paſchalis* II. to one of our Kings, *Eleemoſyna beati Petri, prout audivimus, ita doloſe collecta eſt, ut neque mediam ejus partem hactenus Eccleſia Romana ſuſceperit.* And *Sim. Dunelmenſis* thus, *Hoc anno Ethelhelm comes Wilton. Eleemoſynam Regis Elfredi detulit Romam.* And all this importing no more, but that Charity was the firſt Foundation of it; and the Pope to have been the King's Beads-man as it were, and not the King the Pope's Homager. Yet the Continuance occaſioned the Pretence of an abſolute Tribute: And, *Polydor Vergil* the Hiſtorian, and ſometimes the Pope's Collector of the *Peter-pence* here, improperly terming it *Vectigal*, *S. Creſſy* is ſo ingenuous as to give him a Reproof for ſo doing: Yet in that Notion it was exacted a long Time by the Pope's Officers: But yet, upon ſome Diſtaſte, ſome of our Kings would ſometimes *adventure* to deny

Leges Canut. in Jornal. 920.

Epiſt. Hen. 1. in Eadmer. fo. 113.

Sim. Dunelm. Coll. fo. 150.

Pol. Verg. lib. 4.

S. Creſſy Church Hiſt. li. 29. ca. 15

deny Payment; as King *Edward* the Third did once in his Time: The Reason whereof is storied to be this, *viz.* when in his Reign was the great Contest between the two Kings, for the Crown of *France*, and many of the Popes then residing at *Avignon* in the Territories of *France*, being most of them *Frenchmen*, did too partially take Part with the *French* King: So that, after the great and famous Victory obtained by the Black Prince, at the Battle of *Poitiers*, this was set up in *Vienna*, and several other Places, and after grew into a Kind of Proverb, *viz.*

Polychron. Stow. Mat. Westm. &c.

Ore est le Pape devenu Franceys,
Et Jhesu est devenu Angleys:
Ore serra veou que serra plus,
Le Pape, ou Jhesus.

Hen. de Knighton Coll. fo. 2615.

id est.

The Pope is now all *Frenchify'd*:
And *Jesus* on the *English* Side:
And now you see which of these two,
The Pope, or *Jesus*, most can do.

And therefore, because the Popes took Part with the *French*, our King *Edw.* III. commanded the *Peter-pence* should be no longer paid: Which Prohibition all that King's Time continued, till the Reign of his next Successor King *Rich.* II. And, some Offers being then made to gather them again, at a Parliament a Petition was preferred, that it might

be declared by Parliament, whether the Charge, called *Rome-penny*, ſhould be levied of the Commons, and paid to the Pope's Collector, or no: And the Anſwer to it was, *Soit fait come devant ad eſte uſe:* And ſo they were revived again by that weak King. But yet it was reſolved by the Caſuiſts of thoſe Times, of which *John Wickliffe* was one and of great Eſteem, and ſo repreſented to that King, *Rich.* II, That in Caſe of Neceſſity, ſuch Payments as were but in Nature of Alms, might lawfully be withholden, according to that Rule of the Divines, *Extra caſus neceſſitatis, & ſuperfluitatis, Eleemoſyna non eſt in præcepto.* But, the Payment of them, *de facto*, being indulged by that King, as is before ſaid, I do not find but they ſo continued till the Reign of K. *Hen.* VIII, in whoſe Time the above named *Pol. Vergil*, an *Italian*, Archdeacon of *Wells*, was Collector of the *Peter-pence* in *England*, as he, in his Hiſtory, teſtifies.

Rot. Parl. 1. R. 2 nu. 84.

Pol. Vergil. Hiſt. fo. 90.

But one thing is to be noted, that though the Payment of them continued ſo long Time, and the Popes had conſtantly their Collectors here: Yet the Pope could not alter the accuſtomed Proportion, nor the Manner of gathering of them: For when, in the Time of K. *Edw.* II, *Rigandus*, the Pope's Officer, went about to make ſome Alteration in that, he was ſeverely prohibited by the King. And at laſt, amongſt other Things, theſe *Peter-pence* were totally taken away by K. *Hen.* VIII, of which *Sleiden* takes ſpecial Notice.

Acts & Mon. Ed. f. 339.

Stat. 25 Hen. 8. cap. 21. Sleid. com. lib. 9.

Notice. And although Queen *Mary* set herself to put all Things in such Plight, in Reference to the Concerns of *Rome*, as they were in the Beginning of her Father's Time, yet the *Peter-pence* were never restored in all her Reign: For Pope *Paul* IV, receiving the English Ambassadors which came from Q. *Mary*, urged much to them the Duty and Necessity that lay upon the Queen to make Restitution of all Church-lands, Revenues, and Goods, that her Father K. *H.* VIII. had taken away: And in Particular told them, That the *Peter-pence* ought to be paid; and that, according to the ancient Custom, he would send a Collector for that Purpose: He also told them, that he himself had performed that Charge three Years in *England*, where he was much edified by seeing the Forwardness of the People to deposit, and especially those of the meaner sort: Further pressing, that they could not hope St. *Peter* would open the Gates of Heaven to them, so long as they usurped his Goods on Earth. The Relation of all this much quickened the Queen's Zeal for Restitution, but her short Reign and some other Impediments prevented her Intentions: And so the *Peter-pence* vanished. Only whereas some Monasteries anciently collected some Proportions of them, and then answered so much to the Pope's Collector, in Continuance of Time it became fixed as a Rent or Duty to the said Monasteries, which afterwards devolving to the Crown, and from thence by Sale or Grant

Antiquit. Brit. fo. 302.

Hist. Concil. Trident. fo. 392.

Sr. Rog. Twisden, Hist. vindication. cap. 4.

to others, with as ample Profits, as the Religious Houses had enjoyed the same; it is conceived that at this Day they are in some Places paid, as appendant to the Mannors which belonged to some such Houses, and in some Places by the Name of Smoke-money. And further we may note, that these *Peter-pence* were sometimes called *Præstation* Money, collected by some Archdeacons, who handed the same, sometimes to the Bishop of the Diocese, and sometimes immediately to the Pope's Collector General; as appears by a certain Instrument discovered by that excellent Antiquary Mr. *Dugdale*, setting forth some Part of the Office of an Archdeacon.

Antiq. of Warw. fo. 126.

For the yearly Value, or Sum of these *Peter-pence*, what they did amount unto, through the whole Kingdom, the very Manner of the Duty, and Collection, speaks them uncertain: Yet it seems there was a Rate set upon every Diocese, as appears by one of the Pope's Bulls for that Purpose, said to be *Gregory* V. The Bull itself is pointed to by Sir *Hen. Spelman*; but the Rates we have specified by the other learned Knight from an old Manuscript belonging to the Church of *Chichester*, as also by others.

Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 313. Sr. Rog. Twisden, fo. 77. Selden Analect. lib. 2. cap. 3. Acts & Mon. in Ed. 2.

Episcop.

Episcop.

	£.	*s.*	*d.*
Cant.	07	18	00
London.	10	10	00
Roffens.	05	10	00
Norwic.	21	00	00
Eliens.	05	00	00
Lincoln.	42	00	00
Cicestr.	08	00	00
Hereford.	06	00	00
Sarum.	17	00	00
Winton.	17	06	08
Exon.	09	00	00
Wigor.	10	05	00
Bath.	12	00	00
Covent.	10	00	00
Eborac.	11	10	00

These it seems were the certain Rates to be answered to the Pope's Exchequer; the Overplus to remain to the Collectors, or it may be Farmers, like those of our Excise, or Hearth-money, *sic parvis componere*, &c. Whilst the People were racked to pay the utmost Penny; for, upon reasonable Compute, the *Peter-pence* could amount to no less than 7500 l. *per Annum.*

Know we must also, that King *Athelwolph* gave a yearly Pension to *Rome* of 300 *Marks*, thus to be employed, To buy Candles for St. *Peter* 100 *m.* To buy Candles for St. *Paul*, 100 *m.* For a free Gift to the Pope, 100. *m.*

An. Dom. 852. Will. Malmesb de gest. Reg. Angl. lib. 2. cap. 2.

This

Matth. Weſtm. in An. 855. Florent. Wigorn. in An. 857.

This by ſome Writers hath been confounded with the *Peter-pence*, agreeing ſo near with the Rates above; but certainly they were ſeveral Charges: And this, though ſmall, yet being paid many Years, the *Sum total* could not chuſe but be very great: And once *John* of *Gaunt* oppoſed the Payment, being demanded by Pope *Gregory* the Thirteenth.

An. 46. Ed. 3.

CHAP II.

FIRST FRUITS AND TENTHS.

FIrſt Fruits, *Primitiæ*, are the Profits of every Spiritual Living for one Year: And theſe anciently and often were called *Annates*, becauſe the Rate of Firſt Fruits of Spiritual Livings is after one Year's Profit of the ſame.

Tenths, *Decimæ*, are the Tenth Part of the Firſt Fruits, or yearly Value of all Spiritual Livings: And theſe were anciently paid to the Popes, as in *England*, ſo throughout all Weſtern *Chriſtendom*: For the Pope, as *Paſtor Paſtorum*, claimed *Decimas Decimarum*.

Now, though theſe were of a later Date than the *Peter-pence*, yet by whom they were firſt impoſed, or in whoſe Time firſt taken, there is much Difference amongſt the Hiſtorians. *Theod. à Niem.* Secretary to Pope *Gregory* the Eleventh ſays that *Boni-*

De Schiſm. inter Urban. 6, &c. lib. 2. cap. 9.

face the Ninth, about the Year 1399, reserved first the First Fruits of vacant Churches and Abbies: With whom agrees *Platina*, in the Life of that *Boniface*, saying, *Primus Annatarum imposuit usum*; though he confesseth also, that some refer their Original unto Pope *John* the Twenty-second, of which Opinion is *Polydor Vergil*, though he intimates also, as if some thought them of a higher Time. But indeed our own Country-men assign their Beginning here to that Pope *John* the Twenty-second: Among whom *Walsingham*, speaking of that Pope, saith thus, *Summus Pontifex reservavit Cameræ suæ primos fructus beneficiorum omnium in Anglia per triennium vacantium.* And *Ranulph. Cestrensis* thus, *Johannes* XXII. *Beneficiorum per mortem, seu resignationem vacantium, sive per translationem, primos fructus reservavit.* But howsoever, or by whomsoever these became first imposed after the Popes had been absolutely and thoroughly seized of them, then they claimed them *Jure Divino*, by Example of the High Priest amongst the *Jews*, who had Tenths from the *Levites*. But *Pol. Vergil* sings another Note, in the Place above referred to, insinuating the Maintenance of the Pope's Grandeur to be the first Rise of them, and that this was one of the fairest Flowers in the Triple Crown: But, when the Payment of them had been continued some competent Time, it was politicly done, upon any Questioning, to assign them a Divine Original, which was sure to

Platina in vita Bonifac. 9.

Polyd. Vergil. de Invent. rerum lib. 8. cap. 2.

An. D. 1316.

Tho. Walsingh. in Ed. 2. fo. 84.

Lib. 7. cap. 42. in H. Knighton. Coll. fo. 2534.

Numb. 18. 26.

to ſatisfy ſuch as uſed to take the Pope's Word for far greater Matters.

The Payment of theſe, with other great Sums (of which more anon) ſo ſtrangely impoveriſhed the Kingdom, that, notwithſtanding that Allegation, or Pretence of Divine Right, the Kings of *England* made no Scruple ſometimes to forbid the Payment of them; as K. *Edw.* III. once diſcharged the Pope's Nuncio from collecting the Firſt Fruits, *&c.* and many Prohibitions were granted againſt the Pope's Collectors, on Complaint made by the grieved *Commons* in *Parliament*, as appears by the ſeveral Collections thereof made by the Lord *Coke:* And, in one Statute made to remedy that Grievance, it was termed a *Horrible Miſchief*, and *Damnable Cuſtom:* And at another Parliament it was called a *Very Novelty.*

2 Ed. 3. Clauſ. Rot. m. 4. 25 Ed. 3. 47 Ed. 3.

Coke Juriſd. of Courts, cap. 14 Stat. 2 H. 4. cap. 1. 1 Rich. 2.

But herein did the Policy of the Court of *Rome* notably appear, that ſometimes, when the Kingdom complained of its Burdens, and the Kings in ſome Exigency calling for the Subjects Aids, and thereupon the Pope's Revenue in Danger of a temporary, if not a total Stop, the Popes would in ſuch a Juncture, and perhaps in a Frolic of Bounty, concede or aſſign the Firſt Fruits, *&c.* for ſome Time to the King, as for one Year, or more, as the Occaſion ſeemed to require: And, in particular, Pope *Urban* gave them to King *Richard* the Second to aid him againſt *Charles* the *French* King. And this Project ſerved excellently well, both to habituate the

Pol. Vergil. Hiſt. lib. 20. fo. 405.

the People to Payment, and to win the Kings for their Continuance, to whom they might be thus useful in any Case of Extremity. But the Policy of after Parliaments went a Reach beyond that of the Popes: For, as a perpetual Addition to the Revenues of the Crown, they were by a Statute in the Time of King *Henry* the Eighth given to the King, his Heirs, and Successors for ever. And then, for the Ordering of these First Fruits and Tenths, there was a Court erected *An.* 32 *Hen.* 8. but this Court was dissolved again *An.* 1 *Mariæ*; but King *Philip* and Queen *Mary* gave them not again to the Pope, but by Authority of Parliament discharged the Clergy thereof.

Stat. 26 Hen. 8, cap. 3.

Stat. 32. Hen. 8. cap. 45.

Afterwards by a Statute, in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, they were revived, and reduced again to the Crown, yet was the Court never restored; but the First Fruits and Tenths were ordered to be within the Rule, Survey, and Government of the Court of Exchequer, and a new Office and Officer created, *viz.* a *Remembrancer* of the First Fruits, and Tenths of the Clergy, who taketh all Compositions for them, and maketh out Process against such as pay not the same.

Stat. 1 Eliz. 4.

And now they are to be paid in such Manner as is directed and appointed in and by the said Statutes of 26 *Hen.* 8. and 1 *Eliz.* The *Stat.* 26 *Hen* 8. appointing that every Spiritual Person shall pay, or secure by Bond, his First Fruits before his actual Possession of his Benefice: And that an Obligation for First Fruits shall be of like Force as

a Statute

a Statute Staple: And that no more shall be taken for such an Obligation than eight Pence, and for an Acquittance four Pence: And if any Person shall be convict, by Presentment, Verdict, Confession, or Witness, before the Lord Chancellor, or other Commissioners, to have entered upon any Spiritual Living before Composition, or Payment, he shall forfeit the double Value of the First Fruits: And, if Tenths, being due, shall not be paid within forty Days after Demand thereof made by the Bishop, or his Officers, and thereupon Certificate made under Seal of the Bishop, or Collector, the Party making Default shall be deprived, *ipso facto*, of that one Dignity or Benefice. Besides, it is to be remembered, that Vicarages not exceeding Ten Pounds *per Annum*, and Parsonages not exceeding Ten Marks *per Annum*, shall not pay First Fruits, but all are to pay Tenths.

Stat. Ed. 6. cap. 20.

Stat. 1 Eliz. 4.

Then, for the Valuation of Ecclesiastical Livings, we are to know, that anciently they were valued by a Taxation Book made *An.* 20 *Ed.* 1. which still remaineth in the Exchequer: But then another Book of Taxation was made *An.* 26 *Hen.* 8. kept in that Court also; and according to this latter Taxation are the Values of Ecclesiastical Livings computed for the Payment of the First Fruits and Tenths: And so much as every Living is there valued, so much it is said to be in the King's Books; and so much must be paid for First Fruits. Yet every Spiritual Person, at his Composition, and entering into

Coke 4 Instit. fo. 120.

Specialties

Specialties to pay the ſame, ſhall have Deduction of the Tenth Part thereof, and that in reſpect of the Tenth, as ſhall be by him paid that Year; for by the *Stat.* 27 *Hen.* 8. none ſhall pay Tenths the ſame Year that they pay Firſt Fruits, therefore they are deducted, as aforeſaid.

Stat. 27 Hen. cap. 8.

The Way now of Compoſition for Firſt Fruits is for the Parſon preſented, admitted, *&c.* with ſufficient Sureties, to enter into Four Bonds, each conditioned for the Payment of the Fourth Part of the Firſt Fruits (deducting the Tenth, as aforeſaid,) the firſt Bond payable at half a Year's End; the ſecond Bond at a Twelve-month's End; the third at a Year and half's End; and the fourth at two Years End: And ſo the Party hath two Years Time to pay the Firſt Fruits. And then by the Statute of *Eliz. cap.* 4. it is appointed, That if an Incumbent continue in his Benefice half a Year after the laſt Avoidance, and then die, or be legally outed, before the End of the Year, then he, his Executors, Adminiſtrators, or Sureties, ſhall pay only a Fourth Part of the Firſt Fruits: If he live out the Year, and die, or be outed within ſix Months after the Year, then only half the Firſt Fruits ſhall be paid: If he live out the Year and half, and die, or be outed within two Years, then only three Quarters thereof ſhall be paid: But, if he live out two whole Years, then the whole Firſt Fruits are to be paid, theſe Bonds being of like Force as a Statute Staple. And thus the Firſt Fruits,

and

and Tenths ſtand at this Day. Concerning which it may be further noted, that the Biſhop of *Norwich* anciently had and enjoyed by Preſcription the Firſt Fruits within his Dioceſe of all Churches after every Avoidance; as alſo had the Archdeacon of *Richmond*, within his Archdeaconry; but theſe alſo were given to the Crown, by the ſaid Statute of 26 *Hen.* 8. *cap.* 3.

Fitzherbert Tit. Juriſdiction 22. 19 Ed 3

What great Sums were anciently paid to the Popes, upon theſe Accounts, by the Rule of Proportion may be gueſſed at: But no other Certainty is known, but that they were very great, as by the Complaints about them, and the Impoveriſhing of the Realm by that Means, of which you ſhall hear more, may be obſerved. And what every Biſhop paid to the See of *Rome*, at his Entrance, for Firſt Fruits, I find thus particularized, *viz.*

Canterbury is rated in the King's Books at the Sum of 2816*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope, for Firſt Fruits, 10000 *Florens* beſides 5000 for his Pall.

Godw. de Præſ. Angl. Note, That every *Floren* contained 4*s.* 6*d.* of our Money. *Ducat* 8*s.*

London is valued at 1119*l.* 8*s.* 4*d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 3000 *Florens*

Wincheſter is valued at 2491*l.* 9*s.* 8*d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 12000 *Ducats.*

Ely is valued at 2134*l.* 18*s.* 5*d. ob. q.* and paid to the Pope 7000 *Ducats.*

Lincoln is valued in the King's Books 894*l.* 18*s.* 1*d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 5000 *Ducats.*

Coventry

Coventry and *Litchfield* rated in the Exchequer at 559*l.* 17*s.* 7*d.* *ob.* *q.* and paid to the Pope, ſome ſay 1733 *Ducats*, others but 300.

Saliſbury is valued at 1385*l.* 5*s.* *ob.* and paid to the Pope, upon every Vacancy, 4500 *Ducats*.

Bath and *Wells* is valued at 533*l.* 15*d.* and paid to the Pope, at the Ingreſs of every new Biſhop, only 430 *Florens*. *Quod miror*, ſaith Biſhop *Godwin*, in regard it was eſteemed one of the richeſt Sees in *England*.

Exeter, by a late Valuation ſet in the Time of King *Ed.* VI, is valued at 500 *l.* and yet paid heretofore to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 6000 *Ducats*.

Norwich valued at 899*l.* 8*s.* 7*d.* *q.* and uſed to pay to the Pope, upon every Vacancy, 5000 *Ducats*.

Worceſter valued at 1049*l.* 17*s.* 3*d.* *ob.* *q.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 2000 *Florens*.

Hereford valued at 768*l.* 10*s.* 10*d.* *ob.* *q.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 2000 *Florens*.

Chicheſter valued at 677*l.* 15*d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope 333 *Ducats*, as an Income.

Rocheſter valued at 385*l.* 3*s.* 6*d.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 1300 *Florens*.

St. *David*'s valued in the King's Books at 426*l.* 22*d.* *ob.* and paid to the Pope 1500 *Florens*.

Landaff valued at 154*l.* 14*s.* 1*d.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 700 *Florens.*

Bangor valued in the Exchequer at 132 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d. ob.* and paid to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 126 *Florens.*

St. *Aſaph* valued at 131 *l.* 16 *s.* 4 *d. ob.* and paid for Firſt Fruits to the Pope 126 *Florens.*

York Archbiſhopric pays to the King for Firſt Fruits 1609 *l.* 19 *s.* 7 *d.* and paid to the Pope 10,000 *Ducats*, beſides 5000 for the Pall.

Durham valued at 1821 *l.* 17 *d.* and uſed to pay to the Pope for Firſt Fruits 9000 *Florens.*

Carliſle valued at 531 *l.* 4 *s.* 11 *d. ob.* and uſed to pay to the Pope, on every Avoidance, 1000 *Florens.*

What was paid to the Pope for Spiritual Livings, other than Biſhoprics, we muſt conclude it uncertain, though certainly very great; Part whereof, as alſo from the Biſhoprics, was annual, and certain, as the Tenths; and Part caſual, and uncertain, as the Firſt Fruits, depending on the uncertain Deaths of Incumbents, and ſuch as did ſucceed them.

But, beſides theſe ordinary and known Rates, and Sums, payable as Fines, or Incomes, at firſt Entrance; and the annual Sums proportioned from them as aforeſaid; it commonly and generally happened, that ſome other vaſt Sums extraordinary went

to

to *Rome*, before any Bishop could be absolutely settled in his See, and that upon Appeals, and several other Accounts, of which we will here give a few Instances.

By the Death of *Geffrey Plantagenet* the Archbishopric of *York* becoming void, *Simon Langton*, Brother of *Stephen Langton*, was chosen Archbishop by Capitular Election: but, because *Stephen* was fallen into the Pope's Displeasure, and suspended, the Pope refused to confirm *Simon*, and sent Order they should chuse another; whereupon *Walter Gray* was pitched upon, and recommended to the Pope's Approbation, with this Commendation, that he had never known Woman in all his Life: At which the Pope swore by St. *Peter*, Virginity was in those Days a great Virtue, and he should be the Man. But the private Agreement was, that *Walter* should give the Pope ten thousand Pound Sterling; for Payment whereof he became bound in the Court of *Rome*; which cast him into such a Debt, that he was necessitated to be continually scraping, to discharge his Bond; and for that Reason, as my Author says, the Bishop is by all Historians charactered to have been a most niggardly and penurious Man.

Godw. in vita Walteri Gray, Eborac.

At another Time, the Bishopric of *Winchester* being void, the Monks made Choice of one *William de Raley*, alias *Radley*, but altogether against the Mind of the King, who intended another; and therefore the King sent his Messengers, *Theobald* a Monk of

Matt. Paris in An. 1243. Hen. III.

Westminster, and Mr. *Alexander* a Lawyer, with a great Sum of Money to *Rome*, to get the Election vacated; and commanded the Magistrates to shut the Gates of *Winchester* against him: whereby *Raley* finding himself repulsed, he curses, and interdicts the whole City of *Winchester*, and posts away to *Rome*, where, in Despite of the King, he gets the Election confirmed, upon the Tender of eight hundred Marks, of which the Pope, as the Historian says, would not abate him one Penny; whereby he was constrained also to live a Miser, and in Debt all his Days.

Acts and Mon. Tom. 1. fo. 259.

The Bishopric of *Durham* being once vacant, and several putting in for the Place, King *Henry* the Third laboured what he could, that Mr. *Lucas*, his Chaplain, should be elected: but the Monks, slighting the King, made Choice of one *William Scot*, who runs presently to *Rome* for Confirmarion; and the King presently sends after him the Bishop of *Litchfield*, and the Prior of *Lanthony*, to sollicit against *Scot*; but, after a long Tugging, and Expence of all their Money on both Sides, it was determined that a third Man, *viz.* *Richard Poor*, should have the Bishopric.

Matt. Paris in An. 1228. fo. 350. 355. Antiquit. Brit. in vita Richardi Mag.

After the Death of *Stephen Langton*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, the Monks made Choice of *Walter de Hempsham* to succeed him; at which the King then being displeased, *Walter* hastes away to *Rome*, as the Use then was, for his Confirmation; and the King presently sends after him, as his Proctors, the

the Bishops of *Coventry* and *Rochester*: who, appearing before the Pope, complained grievously of the Misdemeanor of the Monks, in making Choice of that Man, as being of no Experience suitable to that Dignity; but of mean Learning, one of a debauched and scandalous Life, having gotten several Bastards upon a Nun: and, for his Extraction, his Father had been condemned and hanged for Theft; as himself had also deserved, having been a Ringleader amongst Rebels and Traitors. But all this would not satisfy the Pope to set him aside, until the King engaged the Pope should have a Disme, or the tenth Part of all the moveable Goods, both of Clergy and Laity, throughout *England* and *Ireland*; which granted, the Election of *Walter Hempsham* was declared null, and *Richard Wethersbed* promoted to the Place.

Polychron. l. 7. cap. 34.

The next Successor to *Richard Wethersbed* was *Edmund*, between whom, and the Monks of *Rochester*, a great Contest happened, about the Election of one *Richard Wendover* to be their Bishop; whereupon the Bishop goes to *Rome*, and the Convent send their Proctors, and these carrying the most Money got the Cause, and *Edmund* condemned by the Pope in 1000 Marks.

Antiq. Brit. & Godw. in vita Edmundi.

The Bishopric of *Chichester* being once void, the Canons there elected one *Robert Passelew*, to gratify the King, who had a great Kindness for the Man; but, others sto-

Matt. Paris in Hen. III.

maching him, Means was made at *Rome* to have his Election quashed; and one *Richard de la Wich* to have the Place; and thereupon all Parties run to *Rome* with Money, Bribes, Complaints, and Recriminations; all which being heard, and the Money taken, the King's Man was fobbed off, and *Wich* settled in the See. The Story is at large in *Matthew Paris*; and a Multitude more of like Nature might here be exhibited; but these shall suffice, with this Averrment, that seldom any Election went so cleverly off, but something extraordinary came to the Pope, besides what was certain by the First Fruits. From which we proceed to Payments of other Natures.

CHAP III.

LEGATINE LEVIES.

Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21.

THE Statute of 25 *Henry* VIII, providing that no more Sums of Money shall be paid to the Bishop of *Rome*, begins with a Recital, how the Subjects of this Realm had for many Years been greatly decayed and impoverished by intolerable Exactions of great Sums of Money, taken and claimed by the Bishop of *Rome*, called the Pope; and the *See* of *Rome*, as well in *Pensions*, *Censes*, *Peter-pence*, *Procurations*, Fruits, Suits for *Provisions*, and *Expeditions of Bulls*, for Archbishoprics and Bishoprics, and

for

for *Delegacies*, and *Rescripts* in *Causes* of *Contentions*, and *Appeals*, *Jurisdictions Legatine Dispensations*, *Licences*, *Faculties*, *Grants*, *Relaxations*, Writs of *Perinde valere*, *Rehabilitations*, *Abolitions*, and other *infinite Sorts*, *&c.* as the Words of the Statute are: I cannot now pretend to enumerate or specify them all, when the Statute declares them to be infinite; and therefore we shall content ourselves to point but at some of them, beginning with the

Legatine Levies, as I may call them; and these were Sums of Money exacted, and levied upon the King's Subjects throughout the whole Kingdom, by *Legates*, and Officers for that Purpose deputed by the *Pope*. And these were called for, as often as the Popes pretended a Need of them; for the Court of *Rome* did inculcate, and would have the World to believe, That, being a Mother, she ought to be relieved by her Children. Now the first extraordinary Contribution, raised for the Pope in this Kingdom of this Kind, appears to have been about the Year 1183, when Pope *Lucius* the Third, having some Quarrel with the Citizens of *Rome*, sent to King *Henry* the Second, *postulans ab eo, & à Clericatu Angliæ, Auxilium*; requiring Aid from him, and his Clergy: whereupon, *Consuluit Rex Episcopos suos, & Clerum Angliæ de Petitione Summi Pontificis. Cui Episcopi & Cleri consuluerunt, ut ipse secundum Voluntatem suam,*

Vid. Matthew Westm. Flor. Hist. in An. 1245, 1246. &c. Matt. Paris. Polychron. &c.

Matth. Paris, Ann. 1226, fo. 328.

Rog. Hoveden, P. posterior, fo. 622.

ſuam, & Honorem, faceret Auxilium D. Papæ, tam pro ſeipſo, quam pro illis: quia tolerabilius eſſet, & plus placeret eis, quod D. Rex, ſi vellet, accepiſſet ab eis Auxilii Recompenſationem, quam ſi permiſiſſet Nuncios D. Papæ in Angliam venire ad capiendum de eis Auxilium, quia ſi aliter fieret, poſſet verti in Conſuetudinem ad Regni ſui Detrimentum. Adquievit Rex Conſilio ſuorum, & fecit Auxilium magnum D. Papæ in Auro & Argento. The King conſulted the Biſhops and Clergy, about the Pope's Requeſt; to whom the Biſhops and Clergy returned, That the King might, if he ſo pleaſed, and for his Honour, ſend Aid to the Pope, as well for himſelf, as for them; becauſe it would be more tolerable, and more acceptable to them for his Majeſty, if he pleaſed, to take a Compenſation from them for his Aid, than that he ſhould permit the Pope's Officers to come into *England*, to receive it of them, which might turn to a Cuſtom detrimental to the Kingdom. To this Counſel the King adhered, and ſent a great Aid to the Pope in Gold and Silver, as *Rog. Hoveden* hath at large related the Carriage of that Buſineſs: In which ſeveral Paſſages are very remarkable; as, that the King did, in Matters that concerned the Pope, conſult with the *Engliſh* Church, and followed their Advice: and then the Care and Circumſpection of the Clergy, to avoid miſchievous Conſequences for the future; and that not without

very

very good Cause; for the Popes were so prone to be busy, and tampering in this Matter of Money, that afterward, in the Time of King *Edward* First, he prohibited the Clergy from giving any Thing to the King, without his Leave first obtained, and that under Pain of the great Excommunication; a great Presumption this, but without any considerable Effect to the Purpose intended.

Papa misit bullas inhibitatorias, quod nulla persona Ecclesiastica daret seculari personæ contributionem ullam absq; licentia speciali Romana curia concessa in hac parte. Henry de Knighton, Coll. 2489.

But, notwithstanding the before-mentioned Caution, the Popes gained much upon the Clergy afterward, though the King and Temporal Lords oftentimes proved sturdy: For Pope *Gregory* the Ninth, *An. D.* 1229, demanded a Tenth of the Moveables both of the Laity, and of the Clergy; to which the Lords would not consent, *nolentes Baronias vel Laicas Possessiones Rom. Ecclesiæ obligare*; but the Clergy with some Grumbling paid it. And, eleven Years after, he demanded a fifth Part of the Goods of the Clergy; upon which great Debate was taken, the Clergy appealing to the King, that they held their Baronies of the King, and could not charge them without his Consent; that, having before given a Tenth, this again of a Fifth might create a Custom; with divers other weighty Reasons: But all would not do, for the King was not against it, and, the Archbishop, for his private Ends, beginning to deposit, all were drawn in at last to pay; which occasioned that Complaint the Year following, That there remained not so much

Matt. Paris fo. 361, 362.

Matt. Paris An. 1240. fo. 536.

Trea-

Id. fo. 549.

Treasure in the Kingdom as had in three Years been extorted from it, (the Vessels and Ornaments of the Church excepted.)

Matt. Paris, fo. 549. 666. 701.

But notwithstanding that Reluctancy, notwithstanding that notable Remonstrance preferred in the Council of *Lyons*, *An. D.* 1245, from the Body of the Kingdom, of the heavy Burdens the Nation lay under by the Exactions of *Rome*, and likewise to the Pope himself the Year following; Pope *Innocent* the Fourth invented a new Way, to charge every Religious House to find a Number of Soldiers yearly for his Service, and to fight for the Church militant; and about the same Time attempted also, *ut, si Clericus extunc decederet intestatus, ejusdem bona in usus D. Papæ converterentur*; that is, the Pope would make himself Heir, or Executor, to to every Clerk that should die intestate: and not long after it was, that he received from the Clergy eleven thousand Marks, as an Addition to six thousand he had received the Year before. And then, and from that Time, the Pope made no Spare to drain and exhaust the *English* Clergy at his Pleasure, to the shameful Scandal of the holy See at that Time, and to the notorious Ignominy, Poverty, and Contempt of this Church, and the Clergy thereof. And of these Times it was that *Matthew* of *Westminster* makes this Complaint, *Porro illis diebus, sal terræ, & caput vulgi in magnum Hydropem ceciderunt: quanto enim plus Pecuniam (Humorem) hauriebant, tanto amplius eam sitiebant. Sedit*

Matt. Westm. Flor. Hist. in An. 1301.

ergo

ergo in Tristitia Fidelium Ecclesia, deducta per vocales Tutores suos miserabiliter sub Tributo: In those Days the Head of the People was fallen into a Dropsy, which the more Money it sucked in, the more it thirsted after more; therefore the Church of the Faithful sat disconsolate, being by her Governors brought under a most miserable Tribute and Servitude. At this Time also it was that these grievous Exactions reached into *Ireland*, recorded in the Annals thereof, That the Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices in *England* and *Ireland* were exacted by Pope *Boniface* the Eighth, for three Years, as a Subsidy to the Church of *Rome*, against the King of *Arragon*. Neither did our *Hyperborean* Neighbours escape Scot-free, in this Deluge of Exaction: Nay no less there would satisfy the Pope, but the whole Kingdom; for it was that *Boniface* the Eighth, that then claimed the whole Realm of *Scotland*, as Part of St. *Peter's Patrimony*, against our K. *Edward* the First, and sent his Bull of Demand to the King for that Purpose; between whom there passed several Answers and Replies, on the Point; and the Conclusion was, That the incroaching Pope was glad to sit down worsted in the Cause; the Transactions of all which stand registered amongst the Tower Records, exemplified at large to Posterity by *Walsingham*, *Matthew* of *Westminster*, *Knighton*, and more briefly by others. But all this While the poor Clergy languished, being continually pilled, polled, and

An. D. 1302. Annal. of Irel. in Camb. Brit. fo. 163.

Tho. Walsing. Hist. fo. 48. Ypodig. Neust. fo. 89. Flor. Hist. in Ed. I. fo. 417. H. Knighton. Coll. &c. Pol. Vergil. Fabian. Speed, &c.

and squeezed by the unlimited Avarice of this Pope, and his Successors, emptying the Kingdom of its Money, and filling it with Complaints, the Product of its Poverty.

CHAP. IV.

KING JOHN's PENSION.

THE troublesome Reign of our King *John* is sufficiently related by all our Historians, in whose Straits the Pope appeared sometimes for him, and sometimes against him: but, once taking him in a great Exigence, the King was wrought upon to surrender his Crown to *Pandulfus*, the Pope's Legate and Substitute, laying the same, with his Scepter, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the Royal Ensigns, at his Feet; subscribing also, as is said, to a Charter, whereby he surrendered his Kingdom to the Pope, and professing that thenceforward he would hold his Crown as a Feudatory to the Pope, and paying an annual Pension, or Tribute of 1000 Marks, for both his Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*; the insolent Behaviour of the Legate at this the Historians fully describe, which I list not now to insist on, but cannot but remember, that *Matt. Paris* says, that with this Charter, and 10,000 *l.* sterl. in Hand, *Pandulfus* goes triumphing away to *Rome*; but then, when, or how long after, this yearly Rent, or Tribute of 1000 Marks, was paid, our Writers seem

Jo. Serres Hist. in Phil. August. Matt. Paris in An. 1213, fo. 236.

Id. fo. 237.

ſeem not to agree, though all concur in the Invalidity of the Surrender: And, at a Parliament held at *Weſtm. An.* 40 *Ed.* III, the Chancellor, then Biſhop of *Ely*, declared to the Lords and Commons, how the King underſtood that the Pope, for the Homage that K. *John* did to the See of *Rome*, for the Realms of *England* and *Ireland*, and for the Tribute by him granted, meant by Proceſs to cite the King to *Rome*, to anſwer thereunto, wherein the King required their Advice: The Biſhops for themſelvss deſired Reſpite of Anſwer till the next Day, as alſo did the Peers and Commons; at which Time the whole Eſtate came together, and by common Conſent enacted and declared, That foraſmuch as neither King *John*, nor any other King, could bring this Realm and Kingdom in ſuch Thraldom and Subjection, but by common Aſſent of Parliament; the which was not done: And therefore that which he did was againſt his Oath at his Coronation, beſides many other Cauſes. If therefore the Pope ſhould attempt any Thing againſt the King by Proceſs, or other Matters in Deed, that the King with all his Subjects ſhould with all their Force and Power reſiſt the ſame. Then, for the Tribute or Penſion of 1000 Marks, it appears to have been ſometimes paid, with Intermiſſions; for Pope *Honorius*, having gratified K. *Hen.* III. by his menacing Bull to *Geoffry de Lyſimacho*, earneſtly demanded, by *Otho* his Legate, all the Arrears of the 1000 Marks annual Rent granted

Vid. Speed Chron. in vita Johan.
Rot. Parl. An. 40 Ed. III.

granted by his Father K. *John*, due from the Beginning of his Papacy, and the King's Reign, who thereupon paid all those Arrears, amounting to 10,000 Marks, for which he desired the Pope's Allowance and Acquittance by this Letter, still kept upon the File: *Dom. Papæ Salutem. Ad Instantiam Magistri O. Subdiaconi & Capellani vestri, Viri utique prudentis & merito commendabilis, qui ad nos transmissus ex Parte vestra, requirebat à nobis instanter ea quæ restare à Tempore Papatus Vestri credidit de annuo Censu nostro vobis debito: Paternitati vestræ præsentibus intimamus, quod venerabili Patri P. Norwic. Episc. septem Millia quadringentas & tresdecem Marcas & Dimidium de prædicto Censu solvimus, sicut meminit ipse pariter & confitetur: Et ad perficiendum octo Millia Marcarum, prædicto Magistro Ottoni solvi fecimus quingentas quater viginti & sex Marcas & Dimidium: Et præterea mille Marcas tibi assignari fecimus. De mille vero Marcis vobis satisfecerint Magister Stephanus de Eketon, & Magister Stephanus de Ducy, Nuncii nostri, sicut nobis significastis: Et sic de toto Tempore Papatus vestri plenarie vobis est satisfactum. Supplicamus igitur Sanctitati vestræ quatenus nobis super hoc Literas vestras Patentes dignemini destinare. Teste meipso apud Westmonast. 24 Die Martii, Anno Regni nostri Decimo.* An even Reckoning so far. And then it appears, that in the 33d Year of King *Hen.* III. Pope *Innocent* IV, in the sixth Year of his Papacy,

Claus. 10 H. III. m. 21. dorso.

Papacy, ſent to the King to demand this 1000 Marks due for that Year, by this Inſtrument or Bull: *Innocentius Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, chariſſimo in Chriſto Filio Regi Anglorum illuſtri, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Excellentiam tuam Affectione paterna rogamus, quatenus mille Marcas Sterlingorum quas pro Anno præſenti Eccleſiæ Romanæ Nomine Cenſus debes, dilecto Filio Theſaurario Domus Militiæ Templi London. ſolitæ Devotionis Affectu, Nomine noſtro facias aſſignari. Dat. Lugdun. 5 Kal. Auguſti, Pontificatus noſtri ſexto.*

Dorſo, De Cenſu annuo Dom. Papæ debito.

An. 33 H. III. in Turri Lond.

But whether any Thing, or no, was paid upon this Demand appears not: But by the *Liberate* Rolls it appears, that this Rent due for the 31ſt Year of K. *H.* III. was then paid to the Treaſurer of the Temple.

13 H. III. m. 1.

In the Year 1276, Pope *John* XXI. ſent ſuch another Bull or Demand to K. *Edw.* I. ſtill preſerved amongſt the Tower Records, whereby he demanded the Arrears of this annual Rent of 1000 Marks, for ſeven Years then laſt paſt, and alſo for that Year; but, whether Payment was made accordingly, there remains no Evidence: and when, or how much was afterwards paid upon this Account, is now uncertain. But from theſe Footſteps thereof, which we find amongſt our Records, it may well be collected, that the Popes, being ſenſible of the Defeaſibleneſs of their Title to this Rent, durſt

durſt not always inſiſt upon it, but ſometimes when they met with an eaſy King, or one whoſe Affairs required the Pope's Countenance or Aid; then they would put on a Demand of this Rent, with the Arrears of it, and many Times, without Doubt, were gratified therein: but then, with wiſe and reſolute Kings, they had the Diſcretion to let it alone; and ſo by Continuance of Time, and Non-claim, the Rent came at laſt to be extinguiſhed.

CHAP.

CHAP. V.

APPEALS.

APpeals to the Court of *Rome* were another Way of drawing great Sums of Money out of *England* continually thither. And these began most visibly in the Time of King *Stephen*, according to that of *Gervasius Doroberniensis*, *Inusitatæ enim erant in Anglia Appellationes, usque quo Henricus extitit Wintoniensis Episcopus:* remembered also by *Henry* of *Huntingdon*, who tells us also the Occasion; related at large by Bishop *Godwin*, in the Life of *Theobald*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And then, when the Popes had tasted the Sweets of the Gains accruing this Way, all Encouragement was given to Appellants, so that afterwards there scarcely happened any Controversy of Value, but one Party or other would presently appeal to the Pope and Court of *Rome:* For the Management of which Appeals, it was necessary to retain Proctors, Notaries, Advocates, Agents, Sollicitors, and many other Officers, who, all living by the Employment, expected always to be well paid: And in the Court of *Rome* were continually resident a Multitude of Officers, Judges, Clerks, Scribes, Advocates, Canonists, Civilians, Referendaries, who every one must have a Finger in every Cause brought thither by Appeal, and

Gervas. Dovobern. coll. fo. 1667.

Hen. Huntingd. lib. 8. fo. 395.

be all well paid, and bribed, for Bulls, Briefs, Citations, Commiſſions, Sentences, References, Expeditions, with innumerable Sorts of Proceſſes, iſſuing during the Depending of Cauſes; which were never ſpeedily ended, but ſpun out to the utmoſt Length, with all Encouragement of Appellant Suitors, bringing Griſt to the Mill, and as long as any Money flowed to make the Wheel go.

And as theſe Appeals were purchaſed in Suits between Party and Party, moſt commonly to the utter Undoing of the Plaintiff or Defendant, and many Times of them both, the Pope having the Fineſſe, when he had cracked the Nut, to take the Kernel to himſelf, and to give one Shell to one of them, and the other to the other: So oftentimes they cauſed a far greater Miſchief, being made Uſe of by haughty, turbulent, and undutiful Subjects, eſpecially Church-men, to croſs and oppoſe their Sovereigns, upon every, or any Pretence whatſoever; witneſs the Appeals of *Anſelm*, *Becket*, the Monks of *Canterbury*, with Multitudes more, from the King, and his Laws, to the Pope, as in all our Hiſtories moſt frequently occur: All which tended only to carry huge Sums to *Rome*, and to bring thence no leſs Miſchiefs to the King and Kingdom. And, beſides this, Multitudes of Appeals were founded upon the Elections of Biſhops, Abbots, Priors, Deans, *&c.* for it was very rare to have all Parties acquieſce in an Election, but Incapacity, Simony, Surpriſe, or ſome Irregularity, would be pretended;

tended; and then presently an Appeal must be made to *Rome*, and there generally the Cause determined for that Party which brought the most Money. As once *John* of *Hereford* was elected Abbot of St. *Alban*'s Monastery, but, upon some Dissatisfaction taken thereat, *Reynold*, the Physician, and *Nicholas*, a Monk, were instantly posted away, with a huge Bag of Money, to *Rome*, whereby the Election was confirmed upon these Terms, that the new Abbot should swear every third Year, by himself, or some other, to visit the *Limina Apostolorum* in *Rome*, with a *Subintelligitur*, that he should never come empty-handed: And this was very frequently injoined to others, in such, or the like Cases. Now, for the Particulars of these Appeals, I could produce a Multitude of Instances and Cases; but, designing Brevity, I had rather refer you to *Mat. Paris*, and others, who are not sparing therein.

Venalesque manus, ibi fas, ubi plurima merces. Acts & Mon. fo. 259.

I shall only, upon this Head, further note, that not only many particular Persons were ruined and undone, by reason of the great Expences they were put unto, upon this Account, at *Rome*: But also many religious Houses and Convents became by that Means so impoverished, that they would certainly have been utterly broken and dissolved, if some extraordinary Courses had not been taken for their Support; as once the Abbot and Convent of *Feversham* being greatly indebted to Merchants, Usurers, and others, by reason of their vast Expences at *Rome*, the King, by his

Pat. 3 Ed. I. m. 13. Pro Abbate & Conventu de Feversham.

Sovereign Authority, to preſerve them and their Houſe from Ruin, took them, with all their Poſſeſſions, Lands, Goods, and Chattels, into his ſpecial Protection, and committed them to the Management of certain Perſons, for the Diſcharge of their Debts, and their neceſſary Support, as appears by the Patent for that Purpoſe, yet to be ſeen, but too large to be here inſerted. Note, it was the Monks of this Abbey of *Feverſham*, that once contended in a Controverſy with King *John*, both by Way of Appeal to *Rome*, and by Force of Arms againſt the Sheriff and the *Poſſe Comitatus*, but had the ill Fortune to be worſted at every Turn.

Fulco Peyforer, & Hamon Doges.

Lambert Peramb. in Feverſham.

The like Protection, and Proviſion, in the ſame Form, and for the ſame Reaſon, was granted and made, by King *Ed.* I. to the Abbots and Convents of *Bordeſley* and *Bynedon*. And alſo to the Prior and Convent of *Thornholm*; but the Cuſtody of them, their Lands and Goods, was granted to other Perſons.

CHAP.

CHAP. VI.

DISPENSATIONS.

DIſpenſations, and Abſolutions from Caſes reſerved, and Faculties, were other great Means of drawing vaſt Sums of Money hence to *Rome*, and, for the Managing and Diſpenſing of theſe, the Popes had their Miniſters, Officers, and Courts, ready to make out and grant theſe Diſpenſations to ſuch as had Occaſion, or to whom it would be a Convenience to purchaſe them; and that in a Multitude of Caſes: As to diſpenſe with one Man to hold two Biſhoprics, or a Plurality of Benefices. To make Infants capable of Benefices and Offices. To legitimate Baſtards. To qualify Perſons to marry within the Degrees prohibited by the Canons, or by God's Law. To lay aſide Habits of Profeſſions Regular, to revert to a ſecular State. To give Liberty to live without Rules, Order, and Diſcipline, which had been entered into. For Liberty not to keep raſh or prejudicial Oaths. To eat Fleſh at Times ordinarily forbidden. To wave the Performance of Vows. To reſcind Contracts, Marriages, and Covenants. And innumerable other the like Caſes, in which exact Care was taken, that the Party Purchaſer ſhould be ſerved to the Height of

Vid. Centum gravamina Germ. An. D. 1521.

his Ability, and the Benefit of the Dispensation.

Matt. Paris in Hen. III.

King *Henry* the Third swore to maintain *Magna Charta*, and *Charta de Foresta*, with other Liberties of the People; and for that had a great Subsidy given him: but for Money the Pope dispensed with his Oath, and then he would perform nothing.

Id. An. 1238. fo. 471.

Simon Montford, Earl of *Leicester*, married the Daughter of King *John*, named *Eleanor*, who was professed in Religion; at which King *Henry* the Third and others being offended, the Earl posts to *Rome*, and there, *effusa & promissa infinita pecunia*, as the Historian hath it, he obtained of the Pope to give Order to his Legate *Otho*, to give Sentence for the Marriage.

Tho. Walsing. in E. III. An. 1359.

John of *Gaunt*, by a like Dispensation, married his Cousin *Blanch*.

Camb. An. Eliz. fo. 2. Sir Fr. Bacon Hist. Hen. VII. fo. 199.

King *Henry* VIII. married his Brother's Widow by such a Dispensation, not cheaply obtained; for a noble Author says, the Pope was very difficult in granting it; not for Want of Power, I suppose, but to screw the more Money out of the Royal Purchaser. It was Pope *Julius* the Second that gave this Dispensation. But afterwards, the Validity of the Marriage, upon such a Dispensation, being questioned, as being directly against the Scripture, Pope *Clement* VII, at the Instance of King *Henry*, sent Cardinal *Campegio* into *England*, framing a Bull, or Brief, to dissolve the King's Marriage with

Hist. Conc. Trid. lib. 1. fo. 68. Camb. Speed, &c.

Queen

Queen *Catharine*, (to be publiſhed when ſome few Proofs were paſſed, which were made ready) and to give Liberty to the King to marry another: But afterwards, the Pope conceiving it would diſguſt the Emperor, who was *Catharine*'s near Kinſman, he ſent another Nuncio to *Campegio*, with Order to burn the Bull, and to proceed ſlowly in the Cauſe: Reſolving, like his Predeceſſor, to make the beſt Advantages he could of the Plenitude of his Power. But the King, perceiving the Juggling, went another Way to work, and, how he procured his Marriage to be vacated, our Hiſtories and Records teſtify.

Alſo the Emperor *Charles* V. procured a Marriage between *Philip* his Son, and *Mary* Queen of *England*, by a Diſpenſation from Pope *Julius* the Third, becauſe they were allied in the third Degree, and that *Charles* himſelf had contracted to marry her, when he was under Age. And, after her Death, King *Philip*, deſirous to keep his Intereſt in *England*, treated ſeriouſly of a Marriage with Queen *Elizabeth*, his late Wife's Siſter, with a Promiſe to obtain a ſpecial Diſpenſation from the Pope, which the *French* King laboured ſecretly to hinder, but the Queen gave him a Repulſe.

Camb. Annal. Eliz.

By Virtue of theſe Diſpenſations it is, that the Houſe of *Auſtria*, for ſome Reaſons of State, marry all amongſt themſelves, ſo continuing all of the ſame Family, or as Limbs of the ſame Body. Whereby *Philip*

Sir Ed. Sandys Europ. Spec. fo. 40.

the Second of *Spain* might have called the Archduke *Albert* both Brother, Cousin, Nephew, and Son; for he was so either by Blood or Affinity, being Uncle to himself, Cousin-german to his Father, Husband to his Sister, and Father to his Wife. And it so happened, that, by reason of the Multitude of Canons, as were put forth by divers Popes, of Restrictions, and Limitations, very few Princely Families in *Europe* could at any Time intermarry without Dispensations from such, or such a Canon; and then let the Pope alone for setting his own Rates and Prices upon his own Instruments.

As great Sums of Money came thus to the Popes, upon their Dispensations in Point of Marriage; so frequently they made their Advantages by dispensing with Promises, Vows, and Oaths. How King *Henry* the Third obtained a Dispensation about *Magna Charta*, we have touched before: And that Power, claimed and exercised by the Popes, made them very necessary for all such Princes, as either upon Extremity were constrained to enter into hard Conditions, or such who had fair Opportunities put into their Hands of taking Advantage against their Neighbours. And this was the Case of *Francis* the First, the *French* King, to whom Pope *Clement* the Seventh gave a Dispensation from Performance of Covenants made upon Oath with *Charles* the Fifth, upon his Release, after he had been taken Prisoner at the Battle of

of *Pavia*: Whereby, in Gratitude, *Francis* was ever after a ſure Confident of the Pope's, teſtified to the World by that famous Intermarriage between the Son of the one and the Kinſwoman of the other. The Contemplation whereof, with other the like Inſtances, and the Obſervation of the ſhort Continuance of divers ſworn Leagues at this Day, hath made ſome, with Reaſon enough, believe, that the unlimited Fingers of the Popes have been, and are ſtill ſecretly ſtirring, in untying thoſe Knots of the Bonds of Conſcience, and more frequently than the World is well aware of; and that ſome *Popiſh* Princes themſelves, in Imitation thereof, have aſſumed the like Faculty of diſpenſing with their own Oaths, when it ſeems advantageous for their Kingdom's Intereſt, as it did to the Popes for that of the Church. To juſtify which tranſcendent, extravagant Power of the Popes, they and their Creatures are not without ſome comprehenſive Principles and Maxims, whether of Religion or Policy, I leave it to others to judge; as, That Faith is not to be kept with Heretics: That the Pope can diſpenſe with the Law above the Law, and againſt the Law, by the Plenitude of his Power: And that, in every promiſſory Oath that a Man ſwears, the Pope's Power is tacitly before excepted. The notorious Abuſe and Miſchief in which Matter framed one of the principal Articles of Grievances, preſented

Joh. Serres in vit. Franc. I.

Sir Ed. Sandys ut ſup. fo. 43.

Moſconius de Majeſt. Eccl. vid. Revieu del Conc. de Trent. vid. 100 gravam. c. 1. Faſcicul. rerum expetend.

to

to the Pope from the *Germans*, for a Reformation, at an Imperial *Diet* at *Nuremberg*, *An. Dom.* 1522, a little before the Council of *Trent*.

Helmold. in Chron. Slavorum, cap. 29.

The Pope's Practice in dispensing with Oaths brings to Mind this Story: That, when Contest was between the Emperor *Henry* IV. and Pope *Gregory* the Seventh, the Pope excommunicates the Emperor, and puts on *Rodolphus*, Duke of *Saxony*, to rebel against him, in order to his Deposition; and absolves the Duke of his Oath of Allegiance given to the Emperor; after which a Battle happening between the Duke and the Emperor, the Duke was mortally wounded in the right Hand, which made him cry out to his Company, See you that this Hand, with which I first made, and then broke my Oath of Allegiance to my lawful Sovereign, is thus struck by the Divine Vengeance; the Spectacle whereof I pray God may work Repentance in the Causers of my Defection and Perjury, as it hath done in me. Not long after which he expired miserably and deplorably.

Epist. ad Zach. Pap. 2. Tom. Conc.

Once it was, that the Import of one of these Dispensations mightily puzzled a certain Archbishop of *Germany*, Legate there for the See of *Rome*; for he sent to Pope *Zachary*, to know his Opinion or Resolution, about a Dispensation which a *German* produced and pleaded, as obtained from Pope *Gregory*, his Predecessor; which was, To marry

marry a Woman that had first been married to his Uncle, and afterwards to a Cousin of his, from whom she was divorced, and he yet alive; besides she was his Kinswoman in the third Degree, and had been a Nun; but it is thought the Pope was as much gravelled at it as the Archbishop, for it doth not appear that he returned any Answer.

Charles the Eighth, the *French* King, made great Use of this dispensing Power of the Popes; for this *Charles* had taken the Daughter of *Maximilian*, King of the *Romans*, for his Wife; but afterwards, to obtain the Dutchy of *Britany*, he sollicited to marry *Anne*, the Heiress thereof, though she was betrothed, nay, already married to *Maximilian*, by his Proctor, openly in the Church: A double Injury to *Maximilian*, to have her taken from him, whom he accounted his Wife; and to have his Daughter sent home again, who had been divers Years Queen of *France*; but this was an easy Thing for the Pope to do, as *Phil. de Comines* tells the Story at large; adding, that there were great Disputes and Arguments in those Times, *Pro & Con*, whether those Actions could agree with the Laws of the Holy Church, or not; and relating, that the Issues of those Ladies became very unfortunate, and that many Calamities proceeded from those Marriages; but, the Interests of the Pope and the *French* being twisted in this Affair, he spared not to cut

Phil. de Com. lib. 7. cap. 3. Arnold. Ferron de Reb. gest. Gall. in vita Car. VIII.

cut aſunder the ſacred Bonds of Marriage, which had been made ſo ſolemnly before.

By theſe Practices the Popes acquired infinite Advantage; for thereby they did not only in Hand get great Sums, or ſome other valuable Conſiderations; but alſo obliged, and ſecured the Favours of many, and of their Poſterities alſo, whoſe Eſtates and Legitimation depended altogether upon the Validity of theſe purchaſed Diſpenſations.

Theſe Diſpenſations were experienced the more miſchievous in this Regard, that whereas the Popes gulled the People of great Sums of Money other Ways, by the Fineſſe of a *pia Fraus*, where the common Saying, *Volenti non fit Injuria*, might take ſome Place; but here the Eſtates and Fortunes of Perſons and Families frequently became rent and torn, by the ruinous Conſequences of theſe Diſpenſations: And hence all thoſe grievous Complaints that have been made againſt them. In the very Council of *Trent*, ſpoke, ſtoutly and freely, againſt the Abuſes of them, one *Johannes Verdun*; but it was not a Time then to have his Story heard, ſo as to be regarded.

Hiſt. Conc. Trid. lib. 7. fo. 676. vid. Tort. Torti. fo. 51.

Diſpenſations are ſtyled *Legum Vulnera*; and indeed, when a Law is once, in the leaſt, wounded by a Diſpenſation, it proves ſuch a Stab, that there is but little Life left in it afterwards. *Chriſt* came not to diſſolve, but to fulfil the Law; but the

Popes

Popes have made it a Practice to diſſolve Laws, that they might fill their own Coffers.

Complaints againſt this Grievance we find moſt frequently in our Parliamentary Records and Hiſtories, of which more hereafter: And at preſent we will only note of *Matthew Paris*, how, the Eſtates of the Kingdom being once aſſembled, they made an unanimous Remonſtrance of the manifold Grievances endured from the Pope, and particularly of that which was wrought by that damnable Clauſe of *Non obſtante*, contained in a Multitude of his Bulls, Briefs, and Inſtruments, which he ſent abroad to torment the People, and by which the Authority of Grants, Laws, Statutes, and Privileges, was vacated, and overthrown, and his own Revenues eſtabliſhed upon the Ruins of the Nation, diſpenſing with any Thing, nay every Thing, by which he might gain any Thing; as may be read at large in that notable Hiſtorian, to whom, for Brevity's Sake, we refer thoſe that would receive further Satiſfaction therein, and paſs on to the

Matt. Paris in Hen. III. Anno D. 1246.

CHAP.

CHAP. VII.

INDULGENCES, PARDONS.

INdulgences and Pardons ſhall in the next Place be remembered, as moſt powerful Devices to draw Money to *Rome*. And, becauſe the Import of theſe, generally, hath not been ſo well apprehended, we will take Liberty to make a little Inquiry into the Nature and Virtue of them.

In the primitive Times, when the Chriſtians had committed any heinous Offence, as, for Example, either in denying their Faith, or ſacrificing to Idols, for Fear of Perſecution: the Parties offending were injoined ſome ſevere and long Penance; and the Rigour of this the Biſhops and Paſtors had Power (if they ſaw Cauſe, to mitigate at their Diſcretion: Which Mitigation or Relaxation of Puniſhment was called an Indulgence or Pardon. And this derived from St. *Paul*, who releaſed the inceſtuous *Corinthian* from the Bond of Excommunication, upon his Humiliation and ſerious Repentance.

And this Manner of Indulgence was ancient, and continued long in the primitive Church: But the Indulgence in the *Roman* Church is of another Nature; for, ſeeing that Sin, as they ſay, deſerveth as well ſome temporal Puniſhment, as eternal Damnation, their Indulgence is a ſuppoſed Abſolution

from

from the Guilt of temporal Punishment, which Punishment is inflicted, they say, in Purgatory; and all this, as they further add, by the Application of the Merits of *Jesus Christ*, and his Saints, by the Medium and Method of the Church: And these Merits are termed *Thesaurus Ecclesiæ*, *The Treasure of the Church*, and applicable to the Souls of the Dead burning in Purgatory, to work out their temporal Punishment. And this is the Notion of Indulgence in the *Roman* Church, if I mistake not, for it is a Doctrine as difficult to understand, as to maintain. But this is certain, that these modern, new-coined Indulgences, differ infinitely from that of the primitive Times; for those which were first used, for Mitigation of Penance or Punishment, are now reduced to be instead of real private Satisfactions: And that which was formerly left to the Discretion of every Bishop in his own Diocese, to dispense, in that Manner, with *summum Jus*, is now solely transferred to the Power and Authority of the Pope; and that not only from Penances and Punishments in this Life, but also from Imprisonment, Pains, and Tortures in Purgatory for many Thousands of Years: As, whosoever in the State of Grace shall say seven Prayers before the Crucifix, and seven *Pater Nosters*, and seven *Ave Marias*, shall obtain six and fifty thousand Years of Pardon: Fourteen thousand granted by St. *Gregory*; fourteen thousand by *Nicholas* the First; and eight and twenty thousand by *Sixtus*

Vid. Pol. Vergil. de invent. rerum, lib. 8. cap. 1.

Horæ beatæ Mar. Virg. secundum usum Sarum.

Bulla Pii Quarti. Dat. Rom. 1564.

Sixtus the Fourth. And amongst the Articles framed at the Council of *Trent*, to be owned *super Forma Juramenti Professionis Fidei*, this is one, That the Power of Indulgences was left by *Christ* in the Church, and that the Use thereof is most wholesome for *Christ*'s People.

For the Antiquity, Authority, and Validity of these Indulgences, as now practised, let those maintain, if they can, whom it most concerns, and who get by them, for my Business now is not to dispute; only I cannot forbear to tell you what a learned *Romanist* says of them, *Dolendum & mirandum*, &c. It is to be lamented and admired how Catholics write of Indulgences, so timorously, so coldly, so diversly, so doubtfully, as if they were so far fetched, or so uncertainly framed, that they could hardly be proved. We will therefore only take Notice of their Efficacy to draw Money out of the People's Purses, our present Purpose; and, for their Power of drawing Souls out of Purgatory, we leave it to another Opportunity.

Cunerus Declam.

For the Purpose of drawing Money from the People, there could not have been a more neat Contrivance, and therefore by one they have not improperly been called *Emulgences*; and by the *Romanists* themselves, in their truest Signification. *The Treasury of the Church*. For, seeing the Pope was become the sole Dispenser and Disposer of them, when he had Occasion, or a Mind to amass Monies, it was a ready and sure Way,

Rivet.

Romanorum loculos impræegnare. Mat. Paris. Hen. III.

way upon Pretence of Wars against the *Turks*, or of Wars against Heretics, or Wars against the Emperor, or any Neighbour, Prince, or State, with whom the Pope was at odds, to send out, and proclaim Marts, and Sales for these Indulgences, upon Terms that those who would disburse any Sums of Money, for the Purposes aforesaid, as the Occasion was, they should have Pardons and Indulgences for Numbers of Years, proportionable to the Sums they could, or would deposit: *Nam aliter non absolvebantur nisi tribuerent secundum posse suum, & facultatem suam*; for People could not be absolved, except they did disburse as much as their Abilities would afford; as *Hen. de Knighton* deals plainly in the Case: And then, for the Poor and Indigent, truly they deserve our Pity, when the *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ* deals thus plainly with them, *Nota diligenter quod hujusmodi gratiæ non conceduntur pauperibus; quai non habent, ergo non possunt consolari.* Note diligently, that such Graces are not granted to the Poor; because they have not wherewithal, they cannot be comforted. A very sad Case!

Hen. de Knighton Coll. 2671.

Taxa Cam. Apost. Impress. Paris.

Now for those People that were conscious and certain they were guilty of many Sins, and persuaded they should lie frying in Purgatory many Thousands of Years, to purge themselves, and make them fit for Heaven, who would not presently unstring, and give even almost all they were worth, for such Advantages, and to be freed from

thoſe bitterly repreſented Pains, and Torments?

Then, to aſſure People they were not cheated in theſe Penny-worths and Bargains, the Myſtery of the Pope's Triple Crown was ſufficient: For anciently, if not ſtill, the Word, *Myſterium*, was engraven thereon, to denote and ſignify the Rule and Authority the Pope bears in *Heaven*, in *Earth*, and in *Purgatory*. And ſo theſe Indulgences and Pardons were trucked for, and bought up, at any Rates; until People began a little to conſider, and look about them, and to obſerve upon what Terms, and for what Purpoſes, theſe Indulgences were ſent abroad, wherein no Diſtinction of Perſons, or Sins, was made, which reaſonably might have been expected from *Chriſt*'s Vicar; that whoſoever performed ſome religious Rites, and paid certain Sums of Money, ſhould have all their Sins forgiven, whatever they were: So that all Men, who would come to the Price, were not only promiſed everlaſting Life, but made capable of delivering the Souls of others out of Purgatory: Conſidering alſo, that, employing the Money raiſed by theſe Indulgences, there was no Regard had to the End for which they were given, but frequently, by Way of Anticipation, it was aſſigned to ſome other Purpoſe, as to carry on the Pope's Revenge, to pay his Debts, to gratify a Friend, to inrich a Nephew, to marry a Niece, to wage a War, to ſubdue an Anti-Pope, or the like: That all imaginable Shifts,

Myſterium.

Centum gravam. German.

Shifts, Sharking, and Tricks were uſed to make the moſt of them, in Regard they were generally farmed out to the moſt cunning Snaps, and ſuch as would give moſt for them. So that in time People began to be a little wary in laying out their Money that Way, and the Markets and Sales for Indulgences began to be very cold: But then the Collectors and Factors would ſell the cheaper Penny-worths, and play at ſmall Games, before they would give out; as once in *Germany*, when theſe Wares began to be a little out of Credit, the Pope's Officers would ſell them for a very ſmall Price, or play at Tables for them in Taverns and Gaming-houſes, wherein Money was ſtaked againſt Pardons eſteemed of ſuch a Value. And ſo, from the Diſcoveries of the Cheats and Rapine hereby practiſed, the Indulgences were not only contemned and exploded, but Way made for Reformation of other Corruptions in the Church.

Hen. de Knighton Col. fo. 2671.

An. Dom. 1520.

Guicciard. Hiſt. lib. 13. fo. 629.

Vid. Hiſt. Concil. Trident.

Now, as well to ſhew the Liberality of the Popes, in granting theſe Indulgences, as alſo ſomewhat further to explicate the Nature of them, we will here take a View of ſuch *Indulgences* and *Pardons* as formerly have been granted to ſome of the Churches in *Rome*, as they are ſpecified in an old Book, called, *The Cuſtomes of London*, as follows:

Customs of London.

The hoole Pardon of *Rome* graunted by divers Popes.

Vid. Onuphr. de 7. sanctioribus urbis Rom. Ecclesiis.

IN the City of Rome *been four Chirches, in which is Masse daily don, but there been six of the same privileged, above all the oder with gret Holinesse, and Pardon, as is hereastir shewid.*

The Furst is called St. Peter's *Chirch th' Apostell, and is set upon the Foot of an Hill, and Men go upward thereto a Stair of* xxix *Steppys high, and, as often as a Man gooth up and doun that Steyer, he is relesid of the seventh Part of Penaunce, injoined and grauntyd by Pope* Alysander.

Item, *As ye com before the Chirch, ther the Well springeth; so may ye see above the Dore an Image of our Lord, and betwene his Feete stondeth one of the Pence that God was sold for, and, as oft as ye look on that Peny, ye have* xiv *hundred Yeris of Pardon.*

Item, *In the same Chirch on the ryht Side ther is a Pilour that was somtyme of* Salamon's *Temple, at which Pilour our Lord was wont to reste, whan he preched to the Peeple; at which Pilour if there any bee frantyk, or madd, or trobled with Spyrits, they be deliveryd, and made hool.*

And in that Chirch be xi *Aulters, and at every of the Aulters is* xlviij *Yeris of Pardone, and as many Lentes, or Karynes: and* vii *of thoe Aulters been severally privelegyd with Grace and Pardone.*

At

At the Furſt Aulter is the Vyſage of our Lord, who looketh on that hath vij C *Yere of Pardone.*

Item, *At the ſame Aulter is the Spere that Cryſt was pierced with, whych was broght fro* Conſtantynopl, *ſent fro the gret* Turk *to Pope* Innocent *the* viij.

The Second Aulter is of Seint Andrew, *and ther ye have* vij C *Yere of Pardone.*

The Fourth is of our Lady, ther is vij C *Yeres Pardone.*

The v *Aulter is of St.* Leo, *ther he recevyd the Abſolutyon in his Maſſe fro Hevyn, and ther is Pardon of* vij C *Yeres.*

The vj *Aulter of All Soles, and ther is* v C *Yeres of Pardon: and every hyh Feſt one Sole out of Purgatory.*

The vij *Aulter of Seynt* Symon *and* Jude, *and ther is* vj C *Yeres of Pardone.*

And before the Quyer Dore ſtond two yriven Croſſes, and who ſo kyſſeth thoe two Croſſes, he hath v C *Yeris of Pardone.*

Item, *Upon our Lady Day in Lente is hanged before the Qyer a Cloth as our Lady made her ſelf, and it hangeth till our Lady Day Aſſumpcion, and, as many Times as one beholdith it, he hath* iv C *Yere of Pardon.*

Allſoò, as many Times as a Man goothe thorogh the Crowds of St. Peters *Chirch, he hath* iv C *Yere of Pardon.*

And as often, one followith the Hoſt to the ſycke Bodys, he hath xiv C *Yeres of Pardon.*

Allſo, Pope Sylveſter *graunted to all thoe as daily gothe to the Chirch af St.* Peter

the iij *Part of all his Sins relesid, and all Advows and Promyse relesyd, and all Sins forgeten, relesyd, and furgeven, except leying Honds on Fader and Moder vyolently; and above this is graunted* xxviij C *Yere of Pardon, and the Meritys of as many Lentes or Karyns.* [*The Knowledge of a Karyn ye shall find in the End of this Boke.*]

And in the Feste of Seynt Peter *a* M *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns, and the* * *Threddendell of Penaunce enjoyned relesyd.*

* Third Part.

And fro the Assencyon Day of our Lord unto the Assumpcyon of our Lady ye have xiv *Yere of Pardone, and as many Karyns, and Foryefenes of the* iij *Part of all Synnes.*

And upon the one Syde of Seynt Peter's *Chirch a Chirchyard lyeth, and that is called* Goddys *Felde, and there be beryed pore Pylgryms and none other; and it is the Land that was bought with* xxx *Pens that our Lord was sold for; as oft as one goeth upon that Ground, he hath* xv C *Yere of Pardon.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Poule *wythout the Walls ye have* xlvij M *Yere of Pardon.*

Item, *In the Day of his Convercyon* i C *Yere of Pardon.*

Item, *On* Childermasse *Day* iij M *Yere of Pardon.*

* Eighth Day.

Item, *On the* † *Utas of Seynt* Martin *whan as the Chirch was hallowed,* xiv M *Years of Pardon, and as many Karyns, and the* iij *Part of all Sins relesyd.*

Allso

Allſo whoo that viſite the Chirch of Seynt Poule *two* Sondays *dothe as much as if he went to* * *St.* James *and dyd come ageyn.*

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Laurence *wythout the Walls ther lyeth the Body of St.* Laurence, *and of St.* Stephen; *and at the hyh Aulter ye have* xciij M *Yere of Pardon.*

And whoe that viſite the other Aulters hath at eche Aulter vij M *Yeres of Pardon, and as many Karyns.*

Allſo, The Pope Pelagius *guauntyd there at the* iv. *Feſtys of the Yere at eche Feſte* vij C *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns; and who that gothe thether every* Wedneſday *he delivereth a Sole out of Purgatory, and hymſelf quyt of all Syns.*

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Crucis *ther is a Chambre or a Chappell wythin, that Pope* Sylveſter *named* Jheruſalem, *there is a Bond that Chryſt was led with to his Crucifyeing, and ther been* ij *Sauſers, and the one is full of his Blood, and the other is full of our Ladys Mylk, and the Sponge wherein there was mengyd Eyſelly and Galle.*

Aud one of the Nayls that Jheſus *was nayled with on the Croſſe, and a Part of the Block that St.* John *his Head was ſmeten off upon, and two Armes, the one of St.* Peter, *the oder of St.* Poule.

Item, *Ther ſtondyth a Cheir in which Pope* * Accenſius *was maſtered, and too all theym as ſit in that Cheir is grauntyd an* C M *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns, and every* Sonday *a Sole out of Purgatory, and the*

* St. *James* of Compoſtella in Spain.

* Anicetus.

Treddendell of all Syns relesyd.

Item, *In the same Chirch is a grete Part of one of the Crosses that one of the Thevis was put on that was crucifyed with Chryst.*

Item, *In the same Chirch is the Tytell of Chryst as was in* Latyn, Ebrew, *and* Greke, *which was found in the Tyme of Pope* Innocent, *to the whych the same Pope hath grantyd gret Pardon.*

Item, *In the Chirch of St.* Mary Major *ther stondyth on the hyh Aulter the Bed of Seynt* Jheronimus, *and ther ye have* xiiij M *Pere of Pardon, and as many Karyns.*

And on the oder Aulter on the ryte Honde ther is the Cradle that Jhesus *lay in, and of our Lady's Mylke, and a grete Part of the holy Crosse, and of many Seintis Bodys, and ther ye have* xix M. *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns.*

And Pope Nicholas iv, *and St.* Gregory, *eche of theym grauntyd thereto* x M *Yere of Pardon.*

And fro Assencyon to Crystmas *ye have* xiiij M *Yere of Pardon, and the thred Part of all Synns relesyd.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Sebastian *wythout the Town, ther in a Place that Pope* Calixt *named* Tolund, *as ther the Aungel appered and spack to* Gregory *the Pope. In that Place is Foryefenes of all Synnes, and all Penaunce.*

At the hyh Aulter is grauntyd xxviij C *Yeris of Pardone, and as many Karyns: and*

whoso

whoso cometh to the furst Aulter that stondith in the Chirch hath xiiij C *Yere of Pardone: and ther is a Sellare or a Vaute wherein lyeth beryed* xlix *Popes that deyed all Martirs, who so cometh furst into that Place delyveryeh* viij *Soles out of Purgatory of soche as he most desyreth, and as moche Pardon therto that all the World cannot nombre, ne reken, and every* Sonday *ye delyver a Sole out of Purgatory. And in that Sellare stondyth a Pytt, ther Seynt* Peter *and Seynt* Poule *wer hyd in* ccl *Yere, and no Man wyst wher thei were becom, and whoo that put-tyth his Hed into that Pytt and takyth it oute agein is clene of all Synne.*

Pope Gregory, *and* Sylvester, *and Pope* Nicholas, *and Pope* Pelagius, *and Pope* Honorius, *eche of them grauntyd to the same Place one* M *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns. And ther lyeth the Bodys of divers oder holy Persons whych were too long to wryte of: and so the grace that is at St.* Sebastians *is groundyd that it cannot be taken away.*

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Mari Mayor *afore written, afore the Quyer, is the Image of our Lady which Seynt* Luke *dyd peint; which Image St.* Gregory *dyd bere fro* Mari Mayor *to Seynt* Peters *th'* Apostel, *who also comyng afore the Castell of St.* Aungell *he see an Aungell in the Hyht of the Castell, having in his Hond a burning Sworde, and with him a gret Multitude of Aungells, which song afore that Image,*

Regina

Regina cœli lætare, &c.

Anſwering St. *Gregory,*

Ora pro nobis Alleluja.

Item, *In the Chirch of Seint* John Latryneus *the Pope* Sylveſter *yaf therto as many Yeres Pardon as it reyned Drops of Water the Day that hallowyd the Chirch; and that Tyme it reyned ſo ſore, that no Man had ſeen a greter Reyn before that Day.*

And, when he had grauntyd this, he thought in himſelf whedyr he had ſo much Power or not.

Then ther came a Voice fro Hevyn, and ſaid, Sylveſter, *thou haſt Power inough to yeve that Pardon, and God grauntyd thus moche thereto, that and a Man had made a Vow to* Jheruſalem, *and lacked Good to do his Pilgramage, if he go fro St.* Peter's *Chirch to St.* John Latrynes, *he ſhall be diſcharged and have Abſolucyon of that Promiſe.*

At any Time that a Man cometh to St. John Latrynes, *he is quytt of all Synnes, and of all Penaunce, with that, that he be penitent for his Sinnes.*

Blyſſed is the Moder that bereth the Chylde that hereth Maſſe on Saterdays *at St.* John Latrynes, *for he deliveryth all theim that he deſyreth out of Purgatory, too the Nombre of* lxxvij *Soles.*

Item,

Item, *Upon the Tour of the Chirch ſtondyth a double Croſſe that was made of the Swerde that St.* John *was beheded with, and at every Time that a Man beholdith that Croſſe he hath* xiiij M *Year of Pardon, and as many Karyns of all Penaunce.*

And at the hyh Aulter ye have Remiſhyon of all Synnes, and of all Penaunce, and innumerable Pardon more than he needeth for himſelf.

There is the Grave that Seynt John *layd himſelf in when he had ſaid Maſſe, and then come a grete Light over the Grave, and, when that Light was gone, then fund they nootyng there but heavinly Bred. In that Grave cometh every good* Friday *in the Night the holy Cream and Oyl, and he that putteth therein his Hed hath* M C *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karyns.*

And behynd the hyh Aulter ſtondith a Cheyr that God ſat in, and whoo that ſitteth therein has the thred Part of all his Syns releſyd.

And who that viſiteth all the oder Aulters hath at eche Aulter xliiij C *Yere of Pardon, and as many Karynes: and on the one Side of the Chirch ther is a Sacrifice that is at Seynt* John Baptiſt's *Aulter, and ther is the Table that our Lord ete at upon* Maunday Thurreſday. *And allſo the Tables of Stone with the* X *Commandments that our Lord gafe to* Moyſes *on the Mount of* Sinai: *And ther is a* iiij *Square of the* v *Borly Loſes, and of the two Fyſhes, and allſo there is our Ladys Keverchef.*

Item,

Item, *In the ſame Chirch on the hyh Aulter been the Bodys of Seint* Peter *and* Poule, *and the Hed of* Zachary *the Prophet, Fader of Seynt* John *the Baptiſt, with dyvers oder Reliqys.*

Item, *In the ſame Chirch-yard ſtondith a Chappell that is called* Sanctum Sanctorum; *ther is the Face of our Lord, ther ye have* M xiij *Yere of Pardon.*

When the Emperour Conſtantine *was cryſtened, he ſpake thus to Pope* Sylveſter: *In that I have geven my Hous to the Wurſhip of God, graunt you mekely his Grace to all theim that willingly come to this Town: Then anſwered Pope* Sylveſter, *our Lord* Jheſu Chryſte, *that by his grete Mercy hath purged you of your grete Lazary, he mought purg all them that viſit this Chirche of all hur Syn, and all oder Penaunce.*

He that wooll not beleve this may go to Seint Latrynes *before the Quyer Dore, and ther he may ſee in Marbill all that is wrytten here.*

From Seynt John's *Day till Scrovetyde all this Pardon is doubled, and fro Scrovetyde to Eſter the Pardon is threfold double: Bleſſyd is he that may deſerve to have this Pardon. And in the ſame Chappel aboveſaid may come noe Weemen.*

Item, *About that Chappell on the left Syde ther are Steppis which ſomtime ware at* Jheruſalem, *and who ſo gothe up the Steppis on his Knees, he deliveryth one Sole out of Purgatory.*

Item,

Item, *In the Chirch of Seynt* Euſtace *ye may have Releſe and Pardon of all Synne.*

And he that is ſhreven and repentant of his Syn he hath a M *Yere Pardon, and as many Karyns.*

Then follow the Indulgences granted unto other lower Churches in *Rome*, but, by theſe ſpecified, you may judge of all the reſt. And then the Relater, according to his Promiſe, proceeds to tell the Reader what a *Karyne* is.

A Karyne, (*ſaith he*) *is to go Wulward* vij *Yere:* Item, *To faſten Bred and Water the* Fryday vij *Yere:* Item, *In* vij *Yere not to ſlepe one Night wher he ſlepeth one oder.* Item. *in* vij *Yere not to com under noe covered Place, but yf it be to here Maſſe in the Chirch Dore or Porch:* Item, *In* vij *Yere not to ete ne drynk out of no Veſſell, but in the ſame he made his Avow in.* Item, *he that fulfills all thes Poyntis* vij *Yere during, doth and wynneth a a* Karyne, *that is to ſay, a* Lentdum. Karyne. Capiat qui capere poteſt.

And thus may a Man have at Rome (as he concludes) *grete Pardon, and Soul Helth: Bleſſyd ben all thooſe Pepull, and in good Tyme born, that reſſeveth all theſe Graces, and well kepyth them. Of the which Pardone and Grace, our Lord* Jheſu Chreſt *mote graunt to all good Chryſten Men.* Amen.

And thus, with the Propoſal and Belief of theſe heavenly Advantages, Men, Women, and Children, of all Qualities, were continually drawn and enticed to *Rome*, at their great Charges and Expences, to partake of theſe tranſcendent Graces. But, to

ſhew

ſhew the Pope's Charity and Liberality in theſe gracious Indulgences, we muſt know that they were granted alſo to many Churches and Altars within this Kingdom, like Cummin-Seeds, moſt commonly depenſiled upon the Walls.

Againſt an Altar, thus :

Wever Fun. Mon. 121.

Si quis Miſſam ad hoc Altare fieri curabit, plenariam Peccatorum Remiſſionem conſequetur. Si vero pro defuncti alicujus Anima ad idem Altare legatur Miſſa, ſtatim in ipſo Actu & Celebratione Miſſæ Anima defuncti ex Purgatorio in Cœlum aſcendet, & ſervabitur. Nihil certius.

But theſe home Indulgences were never eſteemed ſo powerful and effectual, as thoſe which were far fetched and dear bought. And the Profit, accruing to the Popes and Court of *Rome*, by Virtue of theſe, was exceſſive great, and always, ſince their firſt Contrivance, eſteemed one of the cardinal Supports of the Revenues of that See. And, for the Improvement thereof, theſe *Romiſh* Indulgences were ſometimes made itinerant and ſet abroad into other Countries, under the Managery of Commiſſioners, to be delivered out and diſpenſed for Money, and ſuch as could not travel to *Rome* for them ; (of which more anon, when we come to the Jubilees.)

Hiſt. of Counc. of Trent lib. 1. ſect. 13.

Thus Pope *Leo* the Tenth, a Man very liberal in rewarding his Kindred and Courtiers,

tiers, when ſome other Fountains were dried up, whence Riches uſed to be drawn out of other Nations to the Court of *Rome*, thought fit to ſerve himſelf of that of Indulgences; and ſped ſo well in that Project, that he gave to divers Perſons the Revenues of divers Provinces, reſerving ſomething to his own Exchequer; and particularly he gave the Indulgences of *Saxony*, and of that Arm of *Germany* which reacheth from thence to the Sea-ſide, to his Siſter *Magdalen*, the Wife of *Franceſchetto Cibo*, Baſtard Son of Pope *Innocent* the Eighth, in Recompence of the Charges which the Family of *Cibo* were at, when he retired himſelf to them at *Genoa*, under *Alexander* the Sixth. Id. Sect. 16.

And hence it was that *Franciſcus Soderinus*, Cardinal of *Præneſte*, called Cardinal *Volterra*, told Pope *Adrian* the Sixth, that no Reformation could be made, that would not notably diminiſh the Rents of the Church, which having four Fountains, one temporal, *viz.* the Rents of the Eccleſiaſtical Eſtate; the other three ſpiritual, *viz.* Indulgences, Diſpenſations, and Collations of Benefices; none of them could be ſtopped, but that one Quarter of the Revenues would be cut off. Id. Sect. 27.

The Exemplification of the holy Pardons at *Rome* before acquaints us how thoſe Graces were, and are there delivered out by Wholeſale, and in groſs Sums; but there were ſome Men that thought it ſurer to purchaſe them, as it were, by Retail; and

others

others again thought they were not ſure enough, without they had them under Hand and Seal, and the Pope's general Warrant to them: Thus,

Sir *Gerard Braybroke* Kt. and *Elizabeth* his Wife, about the Year 1400, were buried in St. *Paul's* Church in *London*; and in the Year 1608 the Bones of Sir *Gerard*, lying in a Coffin of Lead caſed with Wood, were digged up at the Eaſt End of the South Iſle, ſiding the Quire, and with them an Indulgence from Pope *Boniface* the Ninth, which being eſteemed by the Purchaſers thereof, without Doubt, of great Value, we will here exhibit a true Tranſcript of the ſame.

W. Dugdale Hiſt. of St. Paul's Cathed. fo. 45.

Indulgentia Domino Gerardo Braybroke Militi, & Dominæ Elizabethæ Uxori ejus, per Bonifacium Pontificem Rom. ejus nomine Nonum conceſſa.

BOnifacius Epiſcopus, Servus Servorum Dei, dilecto ilio nobili Viro Gerardo Braybroke juniori Militi: & dilectæ in Chriſto Filiæ, nobili Mulieri Elizabethæ ejus Uxori, Lincolnienſis Diœceſis, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Provenit ex veſtræ Devotionis Effectu, quo nos & Romanam Eccleſiam reveremini, ut Petitiones veſtras, illas præſertim quæ Animarum veſtrarum Salutem reſpiciunt, ad Exauditionis Gratiam

tiam admittamus. Hinc est, quod nos vestris Supplicationibus inclinati, ut Confessor, quem quilibet vestrum duxerit eligendum omnium Peccatorum vestrorum, de quibus Corde contriti, & Ore confessi fuæritis, semel tantum in Mortis Articulo, plenam Remissionem vobis in Sinceritate Fidei Apostolicæ S. Rom. Ecclesiæ, ac Obedientia, & Devotione nostra, vel Successorum nostrorum Rom. Pontificum canonice intrantium, persistentibus, Authoritate Apostolica concedere valeat Devotioni vestræ, Tenore Præsentium, indulgemus. Sic tamen, quod idem Confessor, de his de quibus fuerit alteri Satisfactio impendenda, eam vobis per vos, si supervixeritis, vel per Hæredes vestros, si tunc forte transieritis, faciendum injungat quam vos vel illi facere teneamini ut præferatur. Et ne vos (quod absit) propter hujusmodi Gratiam reddamini procliviores ad illicita in posterum committenda, nolumus, quod si ex Confidentia Remissionis hujusmodi forte aliqua commiseritis, quo-ad illa prædicta Remissio vobis nullatenus suffragetur. Nulli ergo omnino Hominum liceat hanc Paginam nostræ Concessionis & Voluntatis infringere, vel ei Ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, Indignationem omnipotentis Dei, & beatorum Petri & Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Dat. Romæ, apud S. Petrum, Nonas Julii, Pontificatus nostri Anno secundo, & Anno Domini MCCCXC.

A little further to shew the Power and Virtue of these Indulgences to draw the

People's Money, and, I think, the beſt Effect of theſe *piæ Fraudes*, we may note, how by Means thereof many of our Churches and religious Houſes were, from Time to Time, built and repaired: As the Abbey, and Church of *Crowland*, by the Relation of *Petrus Bleſſenſis*, in the Time of King *Henry* II, by an Indulgence for the third Part of Penance injoined for Sins committed, to all that helped forward the Work. And, to inſtance in no more but the Cathedral of St. *Paul's* in *London*, a Multitude of Letters are avowed by Mr. *Dugdale* to have been by him ſeen and read, by which Indulgences, extending to certain Numbers of Days for Penance, was granted to all ſuch as, being contrite and confeſſed, ſhould afford their Help to ſo good a Work; particularly,

Camb. Brit. in Lincolnſh.

W. Dugdale Hiſt. of St. Paul's Cath. fo. 11, 12.

An. D. 1228. *Hugh Foliot*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, granted an Indulgence for twenty Days Penance, to be in Force for ſeven Years.

An. D. 1230. *Richard Wetherſhed*, Archbiſhop, for forty Days Penance.

An. D. 1235. *Henry*, Archbiſhop of *Colen* in *Germany*, granted, for the ſame Purpoſe, Relaxation of fifty Days Penance.

Afterwards in the Reign of K. *Henry* III. theſe ſeveral Indulgences were granted, *viz.*

Edmund, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, for 20 Days Penance.

Walter, Archbiſhop of *York*, for	40
Joſcelin, Biſhop of *Bath*, for	38
Walter, Biſhop of *Carl.* for	40
Richard, Biſhop of *Rocheſter*, for	40

Hugh,

Hugh, Bishop of *Cov.* and *Lichf.* for 30
William, Bishop of *Norwich*, for 20.
Cum multis aliis, &c.

Afterwards, in the Year 1244, comes an Indulgence from *Walter*, Bishop of *Norwich*, extending to those which should, either for Devotion's Sake visit the Tomb of *Roger Niger*, or give Assistance unto the Work. As also, some Time after, another for the like Purpose, from *Richard*, Bishop of *Exeter*. An. D. 1244. An. D. 1252.

In the same Year, Pope *Innocent* III. sent out a Pardon, for forty Days Penance, to all such as should assist to carry on the Work.

But, in the Year following, *Laurence* Bishop of *Rochester*, in his Indulgence adds the Visiting of the said Tomb of *Roger Niger*.

To these succeed the Indulgences of
Boniface, Archbishop of *Cant.* for 40 Days. 1253.
John, Bishop of *Landaff*, for 20 Days. 1254.
William, Bishop of *Sarum*, for 20 Days. 1255.

Afterwards, the Fruits of these being found, a Multitude of Letters hortatory were issued out by several Bishops, with Indulgences, as aforesaid, for the same Purpose, *viz.* by

Foulk Basset, Bishop of *London*.
Richard, Bishop of *Lincoln*.
Giles, Bishop of *Salisbury*.
John, Bishop of *Winchester*.
Walter, Bishop of *Salisbury*.
Robert, Bishop of *Durham*.
Godfrey, Bishop of *Worcester*.
Thomas, Bishop of *Hereford*.

An. D. 1281. And after all this, within a few Years, another Letter hortatory iſſued out by *John*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, affording the ſame Number of Days for Indulgence as the other Biſhops had done. The like from *William*, Biſhop of *Norwich*. And, ſome Time after
An. D. 1283. that, the like from *John*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; and *Roger*, Biſhop of *Saliſbury*.

After which, one *Simon*, a Cardinal of *Rome*, gave one hundred Days Releaſe to all ſuch as ſhould give to the Repair of the whole Fabric.

With theſe came alſo Contributions from *Ireland*, which began *A. D.* 1237, and continued ſeveral Years, granted by

Chriſtian, Biſhop of *Imely*, for 20 Days.
William, Biſhop of *Laughlin*, for 30 Days.
Gilbert, Biſhop of *Imely*, for 21 Days.
Iſaac, Biſhop of *Killalow*, for 8 Days.
William, Biſhop of *Connor*, for 40 Days.
Thomas, Biſhop of *Elſin*, for 40 Days.
David, Biſhop of *Caſhell*, for 40 Days.
Thomas, Biſhop of *Down*, for 40 Days.

And, to ſhut up the Bead-roll, there came only one from *Scotland*, viz. from *Albinus*, Biſhop of *Brechin*, whoſe Indulgence reached but ten Days: but then of ſuch Extent, that it included all Perſons who, for Devotion-ſake, ſhould viſit the Altars of St. *Edmund*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and St. *Edward* the King, ſituated in that Cathedral, and there either pray for the Soul of Lady *Iſabel de* * *Brus*, or give ſomething to the Fabric.

* Daughter to William King of Scotland, and Wife to Rob. L. Brus of Anandale.

Thus

Thus you ſee how that, in ſeveral Times and Ages, ſeveral Biſhops practiſed this Power of granting of Indulgences; but, that Practice being experimented derogatory and prejudicial to the Supremacy of *Rome*, an Act of Reſumption paſſed in that Court, and the Power of granting Indulgences reduced, and fixed where they took their firſt Riſe.

Now to what Sum or Sums the Monies raiſed by Indulgences, and appropriated to *Rome*, amounted, we may well conceive them to exceed all Account, when, as once in the *Switzer*'s Country, a ſcanty and barren Place to *England*, there was at one Time raked up by theſe Indulgences, managed by one Friar *Samſon* of *Milan*, no leſs than one hundred and twenty thouſand Crowns. And the Contemplation of their Efficacy for that Purpoſe made one once ſay, that the Pope could never want Money, ſo long as he could hold a Pen in his Hand; and one of the Popes themſelves thus prophanely to boaſt, *Quantas nobis Divitias comparavit hæc Fabula Chriſti!* But no more of that.

Hiſt. of Counc. of Trent. lib. 1. Sect. 27.

Laſtly, for the Authority, and Validity of theſe Indulgences, I gave you before the Opinion of a *Romaniſt*; I will now conclude with this of a Proteſtant, *viz.* That theſe Indulgences have no Foundation, either in Antiquity, in Reaſon, or in Scripture: Not in Antiquity, in Regard they began but about 400 Years ago: Not in Reaſon, for how can one mere Man ſatisfy for another, diſpenſe with another, to another, and by another? Not

Vid. Chemnit. Examen de Indulg. cap. 4.

Not in Scripture, which ſays expreſly, *The Blood of Chriſt, which purgeth us from all Sin*; and, *when we have done all we can, we are unprofitable Servants.*

CHAP. VIII.

RELICKS, &c.

RElicks, Agnus Dei's, Croſſes, Pictures, Beads, Swords, Bracelets, Feathers, Roſes, Shoes, Boots, Parings of Nails, Drops of Milk, Drops of Blood, Hair, Medals, Aſhes, Duſt, Rags, Chips, conſecrated Wax, and innumerable other hallowed Knacks, come next in Play: And by theſe the People were conſtantly gulled out of their Money: For theſe were daily brought over from *Rome*, and bartered for Gold and Silver; a Cheat practiſed, to my Knowledge, upon many *Devotees* at this Day.

Amongſt theſe Commodities, having named the Beads, thoſe precious Helps of *Romiſh* Devotion, and the Virgin *Mary* being ſometimes obſerved painted with Beads in her Hand, ſome have therefore conceived them to have been of divine, or apoſtical Inſtitution: But *Polydore Virgil* informs me, that *Peter* the Hermit, about the Year 1090, was the firſt Inventor of them, to be as Trammels, to hold their Offices and Devotion to a right Pace. At firſt (ſays he) they were made of Wood; but, *Hodie* (ſays he again)

Polyd. Virg. de Inven. Rerum. lib. 5. cap. 9.

again) *tantus Honor Calculis acceſſit, ut non modo ex Ligno, Succino, & Corallio, ſed ex Auro, Argentoque fiant, ſintque; Mulieribus inſtar Ornamenti, & Hypocritis præcipui fucoſæ Bonitatis Inſtrumenti*; That is, at this Day Beads are in ſuch Eſteem, that they are not only made of Wood, Amber, and Coral, but alſo of Gold and Silver; uſed by Women as Ornaments, and by Hypocrites, as Inſtruments of feigned Devotion.

Then for theſe, and all the other precious Things before-mentioned, ſuch Virtue was imputed to them, that ſcarce any that had Money would ſtick to give the Rates ſet upon them; eſpecially when it was given out, and believed, they had Power and Virtue to fortify againſt Temptations; infuſe and ſtrengthen Grace; fight and drive away the Devil, and all evil Spirits; allay Winds and Tempeſts; purify the Air; ſecure from Thunder and Lightning; ſtop all raging Infections and Contagions; and be as Panpharmacons againſt all Diſeaſes; with a Multitude more Benefits and Advantages which they brought to the Poſſeſſors of them. All which, I ſay, being conſidered, who would be without ſuch precious Things, when they might be had for Money? Beſides it always was (as was but reaſonable) in the Pope's Power to ſet his own Price upon his own Commodities, as beſt knowing the Virtue and Value of them. And then ſuch hallowed Things, the dearer they were, the better and more virtual they were eſteemed; like Tobacco, and ſuch other

fantaſtical Commodities, that take their Eſtimation amongſt the Fond, Ignorant, and Undiſcerning, far more from their high Price, than their intrinſic Worth and Value. And, as one Specimen of the Reſpect which theſe Relicks and Trifles once had, as alſo how their Eſteem fell, there is a pretty Story, that, upon the Diſſolution of Monaſteries and Abbies, here in the Time of King *Henry* VIII, Care was taken, upon the Surrender of any Foundation, the Debts of the Houſe ſhould be paid. Now ſo it was, that there had belonged to one of the Monaſteries, as Part of their Treaſure, a Piece of St. *Anthony*'s Finger, covered only with an Ounce of Silver; which Relick the Houſe had pawned to one for forty Pounds, who repairing to the Commiſſioners for his Money, and offering to deliver the Pledge, they refuſed to redeem it, as not taking it to be of ſo much Value, and ſo left the cheated Broker to make the beſt he could of the Forfeiture.

Lord Herb. Hiſt. Hen. VIII. fo. 377.

And, beſides the Price of theſe Relicks and Wares at the firſt Hand, many of the moſt famous Sort of them were made daily Pick-pockets to Multitudes, who brought their Devotion and Offerings in Vows and Pilgrimages to them, when they were kept, and expoſed at ſome famous Place. For

As theſe Relicks, many of them, were bought up and ingroſſed by private Perſons; ſo Multitudes of them were treaſured up and preſerved in Cathedrals, Abbies, and Religious Houſes: And, that we may make ſome

Eſtimate

Eſtimate of the Number and Quality of them, we are here again beholden to Mr. *Dugdale*, for exhibiting an Inventory of ſuch as were once kept in the Cathedral Church of St. *Paul*'s in *London*.

Hæ ſunt Reliquiæ quas Radulfus d'Diceto Decanus Lundoniæ contulit S. Paulo. W. Dugd. Hiſt. of St. Paul's. fo. 234.

De Cultello Domini.
De Capillis S. Mariæ Magdalenæ.
De S. Stephano Papa & Martyre.
De Oſſe beati Laurentii Martyris.
De Pallio aliiſque Reliquiis S. Martini Turonenſ. Epiſcopi.
De S. Marco, & Marcellina Martyr.
De S. Victore Martyre.
De Teſta S. Ypoliti Martyris.
De Baculo S. Martini Turon. Epiſcopi.
De S. Oſwaldo Rege & Martyre.
De Stola & Pallio S. Maximini.
De Baculo S. Maximini Treverenſ. Epiſcopi.
De Capite S. Eugenii Martyris.
Os cujuſdam Martyris de Sociis S. Mauritii.
De Sandaliis & Sudario & Caſula S. Remaclii.
De Oſſe & Veſtimento S. Walburgæ Virginis, & de Margaritis Armillæ ipſius.
De Oſſe Alexandri Papæ & Martyris.
De Pulvere Reliquiarum.

Other

Other Relicks in the ſame Church.

A Veſſel of Cryſtal, with two Ribs of St. *Laurence* in it.

A Cryſtal Veſſel, containing ſome Relicks of St. *Swithin*, *Coſmus*, and *Damianus*; the Sepulchre of our Lord, St. *Mary*, Mount *Calvary*, and other Relicks.

A Cryſtal Cup, containing the Hairs of the Bleſſed Virgin, and the Hand of St. *John* the Evangeliſt.

A Veſſel of Cryſtal, holding ſome of St. *Paul*'s Blood.

A Cryſtal Veſſel containing two Pieces of the Head of St. *Thomas* the Martyr, ſome of his Hair and Garment.

A Cryſtalline Veſſel, containing ſome of the Garments, Milk, and Hair, of the bleſſed Virgin.

A Veſſel of Silver gilt, made like a Cup, containing Relicks of SS. *Oſwald*, *Alban*, and *Dunſtan*.

A precious Image of St. *Paul*.

The Head of St. *Athelbert* King and Martyr, in a Silver and gilt Box.

The Cheek of St. *Ethelbert*, Confeſſor, and Founder of the Church, with four Teeth only remaining in it, in a Silver and gilt Veſſel inriched with precious Stones.

A Rib of St. *Richard*, in a Silver Veſſel, and another of his Ribs, in a Cryſtal Veſſel.

A Veſſel of Jaſper, lined with Plates of Siver and gilt, containing Relicks of SS.

Andrew

Andrew and *Philip*, Apoſtles; of *Dionyſius* and *Blaſe*, Martyrs; and ſome of the Wood of St. *Andrew*'s Croſs.

A great black Cheſt of *Gilbert*, Biſhop, containing a Multitude of Saints Relicks.

Another Cheſt, covered with red Silk, full of Relicks.

A little Cheſt of Copper, full of Saints Relicks.

A Box of Ivory, with Relicks of St. *Auſtin*, and others.

A little Ivory Box, with Relicks of St. *Agnes*, and others.

A Silver gilt Box, with a Multitude of Relicks in it.

A Coffer, coloured blue, with many Relicks in it.

A certain *Lapis de Iſrael*, expreſſing the Majeſty of God, inriched with Silver and many precious Stones.

A curious conſecrated Image of the Bleſſed Virgin, with her Son, holding a Pearl in her Right-hand, richly adorned.

The great Arm of St. *Melitus*, curiouſly adorned.

The little Arm of St. *Melitus*, in a Border of Gold.

The Arm of St. *Oſith*, holding her Head in her Hand, adorned very richly.

The Head of St. *Gamaliel*.

Another Arm, with ſome Bones of the 11000 Virgins.

A Cryſtalline Veſſel, containing many Relicks of St. *Thomas* the Martyr.

Three

Three holy Crosses, with the Images of the Crucifix, St. *Mary*, and St. *John*, of Silver, gilt.

A Silver, gilt Cross, with the Crucifix, St. *Mary* and St. *John*, having on the Top some Part of the Wood of the Holy Cross.

Many other curious Crosses and Crucifixes.

Many other Coffers, Chests, Boxes, and Vessels, all stuffed with precious Relicks, *Agnus Dei's*, *Beads*, &c.

The Rochet of St. *Edmund*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*.

The Relicks of St. *Apollonia*, and a Multitude more.

Contin. Matt. Westm. in An. 1314.

On the Top of the Spire was a great Cross, wherein were many Relicks of divers Saints, put there by *Gilbert de Segrave*, Bishop of *London*, to the Intent that, by the glorious Merits of those Saints, the Steeple might be preserved from Tempests.

Speed Chron. in Canut.

King *Canutus*, as our Historians generally say, in his Return from *Rome*, bought, at *Pavia*, the Arm of St. *Augustine*, the great Doctor of the Church, and gave it unto *Coventry*, for which he paid one hundred Talents of Silver, and one of Gold; though others say it was *Egelnotus*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, that bought it, and, as a μνημόσυνον of his Respect to Earl *Leofric*, gave it to his City of *Coventry*. But, were it the one, or the other, I find not any Abatement in the Price; which being so large, it gave it the greater Reputation to draw

Hen. de Knighton Coll. fo. 2318.
Godwin in Vita Egelnoti.

Multi-

Multitudes, with great Expences, to visit it.

But the Bounty of this King *Canutus* appeared most excessive to the Abbey of *Hide*, near *Winchester*, to which he gave a Cross, so costly for the Materials, and curious for the Making, that he bestowed as much thereon as his own Year's Revenue of all *England* amounted to: But the Fate of this costly Cross was, that, about the Reign of King *Henry* VI, it was burned, with the whole Monastery, by the Malice and Practice of *Henry de Blois*, Bishop of *Winchester*.

Cambd. Britt. in Hampshire, fo. 266. Speed in vita Canuti.

To all these Relicks and hallowed Wares, and infinite more *ejusdem Farinæ*, wherewith our Abbies, Monasteries, and Cathedrals were furnished, according to the blind and extravagant Devotion of those Times, a strange Veneration and Esteem was had by the People, until the Reformation made many notable Discoveries of the Cheats and Delusions wrought in and by them: As

Our Lady's Girdle, shewed in eleven several Places, and her Milk in eight.

Lo. Herb. Hist. Hen. VIII. fo. 431.

The Bell of St. *Guthlac*, and the Felt of St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*; both Remedies for the Head-ach.

The Penknife and Boots of St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, and a Piece of his Shirt, much reverenced and confided in by great-bellied Women.

The Coals that roasted St. *Laurence*.

Two or three Heads of St. *Ursula*.

Malchus's Ear; and the Parings of St. *Edmund*'s Nails.

The Image of an Angel with one Wing, which brought hither the Spear's-head that pierced Christ's Side.

An Image of our Lady, with a Taper in her Hand, as burned nine Years without wasting, till, one forswearing himself thereon, it went out, and was then found to be but a Piece of Wood.

Our Lady of *Worcester*, from which certain Veils and Dressings being taken away, there appeared the Statue of a Bishop, ten Feet high.

Cambd. Brit. in Norfolk. Stow in An. 1538.

Our Lady of *Walsingham*, the *Termina* of many a costly but fruitless Pilgrimage.

The Rood of Grace, at *Boxley* in *Kent*, made with divers Vices and Wires, to turn the Eyes and move the Lips, was shewed publicly at *Paul*'s Cross, by *John* Bishop of *Rochester*, and there broken, and pulled in Pieces, the People laughing at that which they adored but an Hour before. And here it will not be amiss a little further to give you the Legend of this famous *Holy Rood*, which I find this: An *English* Artist, being taken Prisoner, in the Wars between us and *France*, and wanting Money for his Ransom, set his Wits on work to make some famous Piece; and, having got some Materials, he made a curious Rood, the like had never been seen for it's Gestures, and moving all it's Joints, as bowing the Head, lifting up it's self, rolling the Eyes, shaking the Hands, knitting

Lambert Peramb. of Kent, in Boxley.

The Rood of Grace at Boxley.

knitting the Brows, *&c.* which being finiſhed, he got Leave, upon his Parole, to bring it into *England* to ſell, and make Money of it for a Ranſom, and laid it on the Back of a Jade, which he drove before him. Coming to *Rocheſter*, and ſtaying there to drink, the Jade went forwards, a Way not intended by the Maſter, and ſtaid not till he came to *Boxley*, and, running to the Abbey Church Door, he made ſuch a Knocking and Bouncing againſt the Door with his Heels, that at the Noiſe the Abbot and Monks came and opened the Door; which no ſooner done, but the Beaſt ruſhed in, and ran to a certain Pillar, and there ſtood. Whilſt the Monks were buſy in taking off the Load, in comes theOwner, puffing and ſweating, and, ſatisfying them that the Jade, with his Load, was his Property, endeavours to lead him out of the Church; but, notwithſtanding all his Beating and Pulling, the reſty Beaſt would not ſtir an Inch from the Pillar. Then he takes off the Image, thinking to carry it away himſelf, but that would not ſtir neither; and therefore, after much Heaving and Lifting to no Purpoſe, they all thought that God had ſent and deſtined it to that Houſe, like another *Palladium*. And ſo, the Abbot and Monks giving the Maſter his Price for it, they ſet it up juſt at that Pillar, where it ſtood for many Years, doing rare Feats, to the Inriching of the Houſe, till it was eaſily removed to *Paul*'s Croſs, and there uncaſed, as you have heard before.

In

St. Rumwald.

In the ſame Church there was alſo the Image of St. *Rumwald*, which was a very ſmall one, the Repreſentation of a Boy-ſaint; and the Uſe of this Image was this: If you were minded to have any Benefit by the Rood of Grace, you muſt be ſhriven by one of the Monks firſt, and then, by Lifting at this St. *Rumwald*, Proof was made whether you were in clean Life, as they ſaid, or no; and, if you proved to be clean, then was your Way made for your Offering to be accepted before the holy Rood: If you were not clean, which was known by your not being able to lift that little Image, then you muſt be confeſſed again, on Preſumption you had concealed ſome foul Sins. But then here was the Trick of it, the Image being ſmall, hollow, and light, that a Child of ſeven Years old might eaſily lift it, there was a Device to faſten it to a Poſt with a Pin of Wood, which a Knave ſtanding behind could put in and out as he liſt; which Pin being put in, the ſtrongeſt Man could not ſtir it; and then, when any Perſon offered bountifully, the Pin was pulled out, that he might eaſily lift it; but to one that proved ſtingy, the Image would not ſtir at all: And ſo, inſtead of Devotion, this frequently proved great Paſtime, to ſee a great lubberly Fellow tug and lift in vain, at that which a Boy or Girl had eaſily took up before him.

The Blood of Chriſt at Hales in Glouceſterſhire.

Another the like Impoſture was practiſed at *Hales* in *Glouceſterſhire*, where the Blood of

of *Jesus Christ* brought from *Jerusalem* being kept, as was affirmed, for many Ages, had drawn many great Offerings to it from remote Places; and it was given out, and believed, to have this Property, that if a Man was in mortal Sin, and not absolved, he could not see it; otherwise he might see it very well: Therefore, every Man that came to see this Miracle, this most precious Blood, confessed himself first to one of the Priests there, and then, offering something at the Altar, was directed to a Chapel, where the Miracle was shewed; the Priest who confessed him, in the mean Time, retiring to the back Part of the said Chapel, and putting forth a little Cabinet, or Vessel of Crystal, which being thick on the one Side, that nothing could be seen through it, but on the other Side thin and transparent, they used diversely: For, if a rich and devout Man entered, they would shew him the thick Side, till he had paid for as many Masses, and given as large Alms, as they thought fit; after which, to his great Consolation, and the Assurance of his not being in mortal Sin, they turned to him the thin Side, where he might see the Blood: And all this at last was discovered to be the Blood of a Duck, every Week renewed by the Priests, who, to their great Gain, kept the Secret a long Time amongst themselves.

The Curiosity of some possibly may here expect to be gratified, in some Memoirs

of the once famous Lady of *Walſingham*; and the notorious ſainted *Becket*, of the Riches of his Shrine, the Confluence at his Jubilee, with the Reverence to his Relicks and Memory: but, in Purſuance of my Deſign of Brevity, I ſhall refer them to the learned Mr. *Cambden*, for the firſt; and the induſtrious *Canterburian* Antiquary, for the other; with the Aſſurance they will not fail of Satisfaction on the Matter; and, for what concerns *Becket*, I ſhall only add this, that the *Engliſh* Nuns at *Liſbon* in *Portugal* do pretend, that they have both the Arms of *Thomas Becket*: and yet Pope *Paul* III, in a Bull, exemplified by *Sanders*, pitifully complains of the Cruelty of King *Henry* VIII. cauſing all the Bones of *Becket* to be burnt, and the Aſhes ſcattered in the Winds; the Solemnity thereof recorded in all our Chronicles; and then how his Arms ſhould eſcape that Bonfire is very ſtrange.

Cambd. Brit. in Norfolk. Will. Sommer Antiq Cant. fo. 247. &c. Vid. Eraſm. Coll. Pereg. Rel. ergo. Anatomy of the Nuns at Liſbon. De Schiſm. lib. 1. fo. 171.

We will pack and ſhut up his Show of Relicks with this one more memorable: In the Reign of King *Edward* VI. the Teeth of St. *Apollonia* were in great Eſteem, as conceived effectual to cure the Tooth-ach; and for that Purpoſe were bought by many ignorant People, and carried about with them; this being notified to the King, Order was given that all her Teeth ſhould be brought in to a public Officer appointed to receive them, which being done, they filled a Tun therewith; and ſo the Cheat was diſcovered.

The Conſideration of the Nature and Uſe of theſe Relicks, together with the Saints to whom

whom they were affirmed to have belonged, the Miracles and Cures ſaid to be wrought by them, and alſo the Indulgences, the Subject of the laſt Chapter before, unriddles to me a certain Difficulty, which has puzzled divers to give a ſatisfactory Reaſon for; and that is, why the Livings in *London* were anciently eſteemed of ſo great Value, and ſo highly rated in the King's Books, for Firſt-fruits and Tenths, when it is well known the Tithes and Church Dues there are very ſmall and inconſiderable, compared to the Country Livings, whoſe certain Profits, by Reaſon of the predial Tithes, far out-ſtrip thoſe of *London*. And certainly this was the Reaſon, becauſe every Church in *London* was furniſhed either with ſome famous Saint, ſome precious Relick, ſome gracious Indulgences, ſome wonderful Miracle, or ſome other *pia Fraus*, whereby and whereunto People were continually inticed to be Suppliants and Viſitors, with their Vows and Offerings. As at one Church was a Saint celebrated for giving eaſy Travel to big-bellied Women; another gave Safety to Merchants and Mariners, in their Sea-voyages; here was Cure for ſuch a Diſeaſe; and there for another: ſo that at every Church there was ſomething virtual and peculiar, to draw Cuſtomers, and Profit to the Prieſts. And then *London* being the Metropolis of the Kingdom, unto which People flocked from all Quarters, both Natives and Strangers, and

none but had their ſpecial and proper Deſigns, Griefs, and Difficulties, or, at leaſt, Curioſities; for which, if they wanted Eaſe or Satisfaction, there, as they were told, they might be ſure at one Place or other to find it. And ſo the Prieſts never wanted Vent or Cuſtomers for their Wares; as Mountebanks, Jugglers, Punchinello's, and ſuchlike, with good Succeſs chuſe to open and ſhow at Fairs, and at Times and Places of the greateſt Reſort and Concourſe of People. But then at the Reformation, when all theſe Cheats were detected and exploded, and the Churches cleared of them, and the Prieſts reduced unto their ſtanding legal Revenues of Tithes and Church-Dues; then all thoſe City Livings fell ſo low, that the Pariſh Dues reſpectively proved too ſmall to maintain one Prieſt; and thereupon the King and State thought good to make Proviſion, by a Decree confirmed by Act of Parliament, that the Parſons and Miniſters of *London* ſhould have a Maintenance by the Payment of the Sum of two Shillings and nine Pence out of every twenty Shillings *per Annum* Rent of Houſes, Shops, &c. without which they could not have ſubſiſted. And more lately, for the better Settlement of the Maintenance of the Parſons, Vicars, and Curates of *London*, an Act of Parliament hath paſſed ſince the late dreadful Fire, to aſcertain the annual Revenue and Sums to be raiſed by every Pariſh, for the Maintenance of the Miniſters, and how the ſame

Stat. 37 Hen. VIII. cap. 12.

Stat. 22 & 23 Car. II.

is

is to be aſſeſſed and paid: For which thoſe that are further concerned may conſult the Acts, whilſt we prepare ourſelves to go on to the Jubilees and Pilgrimages, which now call us away.

CHAP. IX.

JUBILEES, PILGRIMAGES.

JUbilees, Pilgrimages, Vows, *&c.* and Confluences to *Rome*, both at ſtated and arbitrary Times, upon thoſe Accounts, were Means to carry vaſt Sums thither out of the Kingdom; the devout Travellers always when they came Home (though many of them happened to drop ſhort) ſaying, as *Naomi*, after her Peregrination, *We went out full, but return empty.* Whilſt others, who ſtaid at Home, fearful or unable to take ſuch long and perilous Journies, would not be behind in their liberal Donations, Bequeſts, and Preſents, eſpecially when they were perſuaded it was for their Soul's Health; and to which full Hands would contribute as much as bare Feet: For, *a Papa undique nunciatum eſt, ſi Romam Jubilatum veniant, accepturos ſingulos Peccatorum Veniam: at his qui aut Valetudine, aut Negotiis impediti, ire non poterant, fecit Poteſtatem Vota Pecunia redimendi*; as the Proviſion was in that Caſe. Antiq. Brit. fo. 302.

Here I conceive it will not be impertinent to make a little Inquiry into the Original, Uſe, and Ends of theſe Jubilees: And for that we muſt know, that Pope *Boniface* VIII, in ſome Imitation of the *Jewiſh* Jubilee, in the Year 1300 inſtituted the firſt Jubilee, promiſing Remiſſion of all their Sins to all ſuch as ſhould, at Jubilee Time, viſit the *Limina Apoſtolorum* at *Rome*: *Laſſels*, a modern Traveller, in his Voyage of *Italy*, affirms theſe *Limina Apoſtolorum* to be ſome Steps about the High Altar in St. *Peter*'s Church at *Rome*. And this Pope *Boniface* ordained ſhould be obſerved every hundredth Year; at which Solemnity there was ſuch a Confluence of People, that they ſcarcely could all crowd into the City. After that *Clement* the Sixth appointed the Jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth Year, that all Men might be in Compaſs to receive the Benefit of it; the hundredth Year Jubilee, like the *Ludi Seculares* in old *Rome*, being thought too much out of Diſtance for many that might thirſt for the Comforts of a Jubilee. But then Pope *Sixtus* IV, out of Compaſſion to all thoſe longing Souls, appointed the Jubilee to be kept every five and twentieth Year, and began it in the Year 1475. But, laſtly, Pope *Alexander* VI, in a Strain of Charity beyond all the reſt, and to accommodate all that ſhould deſire the Benefits of a Jubilee, to ſave the Charges and Hazard of journeying to *Rome*, as alſo to improve the Profit, thought

Platina in Vita Bonifac. VIII. Polydor. Virgil. de Invent. Rer. lib. 8. cap. 1. Laſſels's Voyage of Italy Part 2. fo. 38.

An. D. 1350. Platin. in Vita ejus. Vid. Chron. Will. Thorn. fo. 2195. Tho. Walſingh. in Ed. III. fo. 160.

An. D. 1475.

Polyd. Virgil, ut ſupra.

thought good to make over those Graces, by Way of Exchange, to such as would pay a competent Rate, seeing many could not, or would not, come so far to fetch them: And, in his Time the Jubilee falling in the Year 1500, being the sixteenth Year of our King *Henry* VII, he sent one *Jasper Pons*, a *Spaniard*, his Commissioner over into *England*; one represented to have been better chosen than such as went into *Germany* on that Account, who carried the Business with some Prudence and Semblance of Holiness; insomuch as he levied great Sums of Money to the Pope's Use, and with little Scandal at that Time; with whom it was thought then the King shared the Monies, although some Argument was made to the contrary afterwards, by a Letter which Cardinal *Adrian*, the King's Pensioner, wrote to the King from *Rome*, some Years after: For, this Cardinal being to persuade the Pope, on the King's Behalf, to expedite the Bull of Dispensation for the Marriage between Prince *Henry* and the Lady *Catharine*, to which the Pope seemed somewhat difficult, he used it as an Argument of the King's Merit to that See, that he had touched none of those Deniers that *Pons* had levied in *Eugland*.

Lo. Bacon Hist. Hen. VII. fo. 199.

And now because the Proceeding and Managery of this noted Jubilee, as to the Rates and Sums that were paid upon the Distribution of the heavenly Grace (as they called it) in that Manner, may give a little Light to

what was done elſewhere in the like Caſe; we will here exemplify the Rates thereof, as they were copied out of an old Roll heretofore in the Cuſtody of the late learned Sir *Simonds d' Ewes*. The Roll contains the Articles of the Bull of the *holi Jubile of full Remiſſyon and gret Joy graunted to the Relme of* Englond, Wales, Irelond, *and* Garnſey, *according to the trew Meaning of our holy Fader:* Wherein was declared, *That the Kyng, with all his Progeny, all Archebuſchopps, Buſchopps, Abbots, Duks, Erles, Barons, Knygtes, Sqyres, Gentilmen, Yeomen, Cetezins, and all oder Chryſten Peple, which truly confeſſyd, and contryte, ſhold vyſit ſoche Chorches as ſhould be aſſigned by* Gaſpar Pons, *the Holi Fader's Imbaſſator, and ther put into the Cheſte ſoch Sum of Mony as is here following taxed, ſhall have the ſame Indulgence, Pardon, and Grace, with Remſſyon of all Syn, as if they had gone perſonally to* Rome *in the Year of Grace*, &c. And then, after ſome Preliminary Articles, about Ordering of the Buſineſs, comes this,

Wever's Fun. Mon. fo. 165.

Simeon

The

The Tax that every Man ſhall put into the Cheſte that woll receye the gret Grace of Jubeley.

FUrſt, every Man, and Woman, what Degree, or Condition, or State ſoere they be, if he be Archebuſchop, Duk, or oder Dignite Spirituall, or Temporall, havyng Londs to the yerely Valour of MM. l. *or above, if thei will receyve this gret Indulgens and Grace of this Jubiley, for themſelfs, and ther Wyfes, and Chyldren not maryed, ſhall wythout Diſſeyt put into the Cheſte ordeined for that Entent, of trew and lawful Moni,* iij *l.* vij *s.* viij *d.*

Alſo every Man and Woman that hath Londs and Rents to the yerly Valour of M *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and Wyfs* xl *s.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerly Valour of* CCCC *l. muſt pay* xxvj *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* CC *l. muſt pay* xiij *s.* iv *d.*

Item, *All thoſe that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* C *l. muſt pay* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* XL *l. muſt pay* ij *s.* vi *d.*

Item, *All thoſe that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* XX *l. muſt pay* xvi *d.*

Item, *All Men of Religion having Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* MM *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and their Covent* x *l.*

Item, *Thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely*

yerely Valour of M *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* v *l.* iv *s.*

Item, *Thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* CCCCC *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* iij *l.* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *All thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* CC *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent* xx *s.*

Item, *That thoſ that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* XL *l. muſt pay for them and their Covent.* x *s.*

Item, *Secular Men and Women that hath Londs,* &c. *to the yerely Valour of* XL *l. whoſ movable Goods extendyth to* M *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and Wyfs* xl *s.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ Goods movable extendyth to* CCCC *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and Wyfs* vi *s.* viij *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ Goods movable extendyth to* CC *l. muſt pay for themſelfs and Wyfs* iij *s.* iv *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ Goods movable be within* CC *l. and not undre* XX *l. muſt pay* xij *d.*

Item, *Thoſ whoſ Goods movable extendyth not to* XX *l. ſhall pay for themſelfs, their Wyfs, and Children as it ſhall pleaſe them of their Devotion.*

After all this come certain Articles of the Bull of Diſpenſation with Simony, Uſury, and of Goods as be *wrongfully keped*, reſerved to the Commiſſary only. *Alway provyded, that the ſeyd Perſons make a Compoſycyon hereof with the ſeyd Comiſſary, and ſeche Moni as*

thei

thei compound for effectually to pay to the ſeyd Comiſſary.

It was the Pope's Charity alſo to impart theſe Graces, and the Benefits of a Jubilee, to all Countries under his Spiritual Juriſdiction, upon ſuch and the like Terms and Conditions; whereby Grace and Heaven were bought and ſold, as firm as any Goods in an open Market.

By Virtue of all theſe Proviſions, you ſee how eaſy it was at laſt for all Sorts of Perſons to attain the Benefits and Happineſs of a Jubilee, where Pardons and Indulgences might be had as cheap as Heart could wiſh. Nay, who would not ſcrape, and run, and give all he was worth, at ſuch an Opportunity, for ſo mighty an Advantage as the Pardon of all his Sins? A far more bleſſed Time this, than that of the *Hebrew* Jubilee, when only the Bondmen of their own Country were made free, and Poſſeſſions returned again to their firſt Owners: But here was to be obtained Freedom from the Bondage of Sin and the Devil, and Livery and Seiſin of an eternal Inheritance in the Heavens. In a Belief whereof there were ſeen Perſons of all Sorts, Sexes, and Ages, flocking and crowding to participate of this holy and heavenly Treaſure: Old Men rejoicing they had lived to ſee ſo happy a Day; and young Men catching at the Opportunity, leſt they ſhould not live the Revolution of another Jubilee. And thoſe that could not go themſelves, if

they

they ſent but Money enough, all was well enough.

Then, as theſe Jubilees were celebrated at ſome ſtated Times, the Pilgrimages were undertaken and performed daily, and by Multitudes, and that upon ſeveral Accounts: For

Pilgrimages. Peregrinatio Religionis. ergo.

Pilgrimages were when any Perſon (either out of Devotion; or by Way of Penance; or in Performance of ſome Vow, after Recovery from ſome deſperate Sickneſs, or ſome great Danger eſcaped; or to obtain the Favour, Merits, or Interceſſion of ſome Saint; or in Adoration of ſome famed Image, or precious Relick; or to ſupererogate to the charitable Augmentation ef the Church's Treaſury; or other like Cauſe;) undertook and performed a Journey to ſome holy Place, as to the Holy Land, the Lady of *Loretto*, St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, but generally and eſpecially to *Rome* the Holy; and from thence theſe Pilgrimages were anciently and often called *Romeria*, and Pilgrims *Romipetæ*. And, when the Pilgrim arrives there, preſently he addreſſes himſelf to viſit the Martyrs Sepulchres; the ſtately Churches and Altars; the holy Shrines and Relicks there ſhewed; the moſt famous Miracles there ſaid to be wrought; and, if poſſible, to kiſs the Pope's Toe; however, to put his Head under the Foot of the Image of St. *Peter* ſtanding in St. *Peter*'s Church there, in Token of Subjection to his Succeſſor;

Romeria. Romipeta.

Laſſels's Voy. of Italy Part 2. fo. 41.

for; all which, and much more, being performed, with fitting Devotion and Offerings, the poor Pilgrim thinks himself very happy, and his Pains and Money well bestowed; whilst the loose *Italians* scoff at the foolish *Tramontano's*, as they call them, for making such idle, fruitless, and chargeable Expeditions. But, when our Pilgrim returns Home he appears, *Obsitus Conchis imbricatis, stanneis Imaginibus oppletus, undique culmeis ornatus Torquibus, Brachium habet Ova Serpentum*, &c. as *Erasmus* describes him. But not with one Penny of Money in his Pocket, though seldom or never without a meagre fanatic Look, a thread-bare Coat, some Scores to pay, and generally a Disease into the Bargain; it being a common Proverb at *Rome*, That Men ordinarily carry away thence *an ill Conscience, a bad Stomach, and an empty Purse*. And which is said to have caused *Venerable Bede* to make a voluntary Misinterpretation of those well known Letters, *S. P. Q. R.* to import this, *Stultus Populus quærit Romam*.

Erasm. Coll.

Tritum Romæ Adagium, è curia tria reportari; malam conscientiam, stomachum languidum, & marsupium inane. Masson. Palmers.

Another Sort there also was of religious Peregrinators, that travelled the World, called *Palmers*; and the Difference between a Pilgrim and Palmer was thus: The Pilgrim had some Home or Dwelling-place, but the Palmer had none. The Pilgrim travelled to some certain designed Place or Places, but the Palmer to all. The Pilgrim went at his own Charges, but the Palmer professed wilful Poverty,

Vid. les Antiquit. de Ville de Paris. Per Claud. Malingre. fo. 240.

Poverty, and went upon Alms. The Pilgrim might give over his Profeſſion, and return Home; but the Palmer muſt be conſtant till he had obtained the Palm, that is, Victory over all his ſpiritual Enemies, and Life, by Death; and thence his Name *Palmer*; or elſe from a Staff, or Boughs of Palm, which he always carried along with him: Not forgetting his Scrip, wherein to put the Alms and Charities of People.

The Jubilees being celebrated at *Rome*, and the Pilgimages generally made thither, as to the Place of the greateſt eſteemed Sanctity, as we have noted before, and as *Venerable Bede* anciently obſerved upon this Occaſion, *Romam adire magnæ Virtutis æſtimabatur*; there was at all Times obſerved a greater Proportion of *Engliſh* to flock thither upon thoſe Accounts, than of any other Nation; Diſtance always increaſing ſuch Kind of Devotion: And this hath made me ſometimes reflect upon an uſual Obſervation of our Travellers, who, deſcribing the Genius, Manners, Cuſtoms, and Behaviours of the *Italians*, repreſent them as moſtly ſymboliſing with the *Engliſh*, and far more correſponding than the *French*, *Spaniard*, or any other Nation not ſo diſtant from us: And therefore I have been apt to think this Agreement or Likeneſs might be wrought, in ſome Meaſure at leaſt, by that great and long Intercourſe and Communication as was formerly uſed between the *Italians* and the *Engliſh*, Multitudes of them coming over hither for Preferment, and upon

Bedæ Eccleſ. Hiſt. lib. 4. cap. 23.

upon ſeveral other Accounts, as may be collected from divers Inſtances in theſe Collections; but far greater Numbers of ours running thither upon infinite Occaſions, Part whereof we have already touched, and ſhall note ſome others in the ſubſequent Periods of our Diſcourſes. And the Obſervation of a late Traveller favours this Apprehenſion very much, who ſpeaking of *Rome*, * The preſent *Romans* (ſaith he) ſeemed to me, in their Houſes and Furniture, particularly in their Beds and Lodging, in their Diet, and in their Manners and Cuſtoms, and in their very Pronunciation (ſo liquid, plain, and diſtinct) more to ſymboliſe and agree with us *Engliſh*, than any other People of *Italy*; which ſo is, either becauſe we learned of them, or they of us, or both mutually of each other, when there was that great Commerce and Intercourſe between us and that City for ſo many Years together. But, for ſo much of all this as concerns the Interchange of Manners and Cuſtoms, I leave it to the Conſideration and Obſervance of of ſuch as have to deal with them; whilſt nothing is more certain, than that by that Communication and Commerce, that happened between us, the *Italians* ingroſſed moſt of our Wealth and Riches, which is ſufficient for the Purpoſe of our preſent Deſign. And, indeed, as the Occaſions of running and flocking to *Rome* were infinite, ſo many that went thither never came back again, reſolving to lay their Bones in that holy Ground; and many others, over-grown with a longing

*Travels of Jo. Ray. fo. 368.

Zeal, would purposely transplant themselves thither, as to the Fountain of Grace; and then their Revenues and Estates must of Course be transmitted after them, and spent there.

Now to shew that the Women would not be left at Home in these zealous Excursions, and to what Purpose many of them went, I will be so bold as to give you one Paragraph out of a famous Epistle of Advice from *Boniface*, Archbishop of *Mentz*, to *Cuthbert* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, which is this:——*si prohiberet Synodus & Principes vestri Mulieribus & velatis Fœminis illud Iter & frequentiam quam ad Romanam Civitatem veniendo & redeundo faciunt, quia magna ex Parte pereunt, paucis remanentibus integris: Perpaucæ enim sunt Civitates in Longobardia, vel in Francia, aut in Gallia, in quibus non sit Adultera vel Meretrix Generis Anglorum, quod Scandalum est, & Turpitudo totius Ecclesiæ vestræ.* I was sorry, I confess, to find this Blot upon the Reputation of our Countrywomen on Record in such a Manner; but that downright *Boniface* did not use to spare the Faults of any that came in his Way; if not the Miscarriages of Princes, and Priests, much less could the notorious Misdemeanors of the Women miss him, from whom, it seems, many of the *Italians* may derive their Pedigrees; and to that probably, in some Measure, may be assigned that Agreement and Likeness which our Travellers observe between them and the *English*, at this Day, the communicated Tincture being not yet worn out in so many Descents.

Epist. Bonifac. Arch. Mogun. an Cuthb. in Sir Hen. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 241.

Vid. Epist. ad Ethelbald. in W. Malmsb. & Spelm. Sup. fo. 136.

CHAP. X.

Offerings, Gifts, and Presents.

OFferings, Gifts, Presents, Bequests, and Legacies to Saints, their Altars, Shrines, and at holy Places, amounted to a very great Value. We have mentioned before, and shall have Occasion to mention more of those many Occasions which many had, or made unto themselves, of running to *Rome* upon Appeals, or as Ambassadors, Agents, or otherwise. And few would hope their Journeys to prove successful, if they did not visit such famed holy Places with suitable Gifts and Offerings; whilst many that staid at Home would take the Opportunity to send, by the Hands of others, what they had vowed or designed for that Purpose.

Major è longinquo reverentia.

The Proximity and Commonness of a Thing takes off much from the Esteem conceived by Hear-say, or first Sight: Many famous Saints and Shrines we had here in *England*, and they were zealously adored, and presented from Foreigners; whilst the Devotion of the *English* was not satisfied with our home Objects; but he was the happy Man that could bestow something at *Rome* the holy. And the *Italians* would laugh at the *English* for their Bigotry, as they called it, in travelling so far, with such ardent

Zeal and Liberality, to ſo little Purpoſe, as they thought; in Regard thoſe Objects, by Reaſon of their Vicinity to them, and experienced Inefficacy, were by them contemned; whilſt on the contrary they themſelves, in a like Strain of fanatic Zeal or Devotion, would run to St. *James* of *Compoſtella*, in *Spain*; or to our St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, or further to ſhew they could be as fond and liberal in our Quarters, as we had been in theirs.

And hence it was that the Shrines and Altars of many Saints became ſo exceſſive rich. What vaſt Treaſure, in Jewels, Gold, and Silver, was conferred on our St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, *Cuthbert* of *Durham*, Lady of *Walſingham*, and Multitudes more in our own Country, both by Natives and Strangers, our Hiſtorians, and others, with Admiration teſtify. So, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, great Quantities of our *Engliſh* Gold, Silver, Jewels, &c. were ſwallowed up in the Treaſuries of Saints beyond the Seas, eſpecially in *Italy* and at *Rome*.

Stow's Annals in Hen. VIII. W. Somner Antiquit. of Cant. Eraſm. Pereg. Relig. ergo. Antiq. of Durham. Camb. Britt.

The greateſt Treaſure of that Nature, thought to be in the World at this Day, is at the Lady of *Loretto*, in *Italy*, eſteemed ſufficient, if ſo employed, to maintain a War againſt the *Turks* many Years; the ſame being daily increaſed by Gifts and Offerings from thoſe who have an Eſteem to the pretended Sanctity of the Place. This Treaſury being ſhewed to Strangers and Travellers, with Admiration they behold the

the moſt coſtly Veſtments, the hugeſt and maſſieſt Plate, the moſt precious Jewels, with the choiceſt Rarities of Art the World affords; and, for Silver, the Plenty of it there makes it of as little Eſteem as in the Days of *Solomon*: And all this, for the moſt Part, the Oblations, Gifts, and Preſents of Kings, Princes, Queens, and Nobles of the *Romiſh* Religion, of other Countries.

Now, to ſhew that all the Gifts, Preſents, and Bounty did not always run to *Rome* and *Italy*, but that ſometimes there were *Veſtigia pauca retrorſum*, we find that ſometimes, and on ſome Occaſions, the Pope would ſend, as Tokens of his Grace and Benediction, ſome Preſents hither again, of which we will produce a few Inſtances.

Pope *Alexander* II. ſent to *William* the Conqueror (beſides a conſecrated Banner, and an *Agnus Dei*) one of the Hairs of St. *Peter*. Speed in vit. Harold.

King *Henry* II. obtained of Pope *Urban* III. that he might make one Son of his Lord of *Ireland*, and particularly his Son *John*; to whom the Pope ſent, as a ſpecial Mark of Grace, a Coronet made of Peacocks Feathers, woven with Gold. Rog. Hoveden in Henry II. Speed Chron. Henry II.

Pope *Julius* II. ſent to King *Henry* VIII. a precious, conſecrated, perfumed Roſe of Gold, and conſtituted *William Warham*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, his Deputy to preſent it, with fitting Ceremonies, as appears by his Letter or Inſtrument for that Purpoſe, preſerved amongſt our Metropolitical Archives,

Cod MS. in Regiſt. principali Archb. Cant. (nuncupato Warham) fo. 26.

in theſe Words : *Venerabili Fratri Guilielmo Archiepiſcopo Cantuarienſi, Julius Papa Secundus, Salutem & Apoſtolicam Benedictionem. Chariſſimum in Chriſto Filium noſtrum Henricum Angliæ Regem illuſtrem, quem peculiari Caritate complectimur, aliquo inſigni Apoſtolico Munere in hoc Regni ſui Primordio decorandum putantes, mittimus nunc ad eum Roſam Auream Sancto Criſmate delibutam, & odorifico muſco aſperſam, noſtriſque Manibus de More Rom. Pontificum benedictam, quam ei è tuâ Fraternitate inter Miſſarum Solemnia per te celebranda, cum Ceremoniis in Notula alligata contentis, dari volumus cum noſtra & Apoſtolica Benedictione. Datum Romæ apud Sanctum Petrum ſub Annulo Piſcatoris, Die quinto Aprilis, Anno Milleſimo quingentiſimo decimo, Pontificatus noſtri Septimo.*

Cam. Elizab.

In the *Iriſh* Rebellion, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, the Pope, as a Token of Favour, ſent to *Deſmond*, a principal Leader amongſt the Rebels, a gracious *Agnus Dei*, and a hallowed Ring from his own Finger, which *Deſmond* wore about his Neck, as a Charm, or Preſervative againſt all Dangers : But, his traitorous Confedrates being beaten and diſperſed, this pitiful deluded Favourite wandered a long Time in the Woods and Bogs, till at laſt, almoſt ſtarved, he was found in a poor Cottage, and, notwithſtanding his Defenſative, had his Head cut off by a common Soldier.

Afterwards,

Afterwards, in another Rebellion in *Ireland*, the Pope ſent to *Tir-Oen*, the grand Ringleader, for his Incouragement, certain Indulgences, and a precious Plume of Phœnix Feathers, for a Trophy of his Victories; but they proved but *Icarus'* Wings, whereby he ſoared the higher, to get the more miſerable Fall. Speed Chron. in Elizabeth.

Sometimes again the Pope, out of good Huſbandry, rewards or incourageth his Creatures with Titles of Honour; as *Thomas Stukeley*, an Arch-Traitor to Queen *Elizabeth*, was by the Pope created Marquis of *Lagen*, Earl of *Wexford* and *Catherlogh*, Viſcount of *Morough*, and Baron of *Roſſe*, all famous Places in *Ireland*. And it was the Pope's Deſign, if *Stukeley*'s Rebellion had ſucceeded, to have made his Son *James Boncompagno* King of *Ireland*. Biſhop Carlton's Remem. cap. 4. fo. 39. Greg. XIII. Boon Comppanion.

CHAP. XI.

COLLECTIONS.

COllections and Contributions, set on Foot and vigorously promoted for divers Purposes, was another Means of draining great Sums frequently out of the Kingdom. And, amongst these, Contributions for the Relief of the Holy Land, as well for the Quantity of the Sums, as for the Misimployment, were very considerable; but of that we will note more anon, in a Chapter apart for that Purpose. And here we will take Notice of some other Occasions, for which such Collections were made.

King *John*, to gratify the Pope, granted License, and safe Conduct, to the Friars of the Hospital of St. *Mary*'s in *Rome*, to preach and make Collections throughout *England*, for the Maintenance of their House, built by the Pope, as appears by his Letters Patents: *Rex omnibus suis Fidelibus tam Clericis, quam Laicis*, &c *Salutem. Sciatis quod concessimus Fratribus Hospitalis S. Mariæ in Saxia apud Romam Licentiam prædicandi in Regno nostro Angliæ; & Fidelium Eleemosynas Caritative petendi & accipiendi ad Sustentationem Pauperum prædicti Hospitalis, secundum Formam Privilegii Apostolici quod inde habent*, &c.

Pat. 15. Johan. m. 7. nu. 20.

Teste

Teste meipso apud Rading 10. *Die Decembris Anno Regni nostri* 15.

In the seventh Year of King *Edwara* I. some counterfeit Friars, of the Order of St. *Anthony* of *Vienna*, wandering abroad and collecting Arms throughout *England*, the King, upon Complaint thereof, issued out his Writ for their Apprehension.

Bre. Reg. 7. Edw. I. in Turri Lond. Pro. fratribus S. Antonii.

The Abbots of the *Cistercian* and *Præmonstratensian* Orders beyond the Seas, imposing Subsidies, Aids, and Contributions, on the Monasteries of their Orders in *England* then under them, whereby much Money, Wools, and other Commodities were transported out of *England*, to the great Grievance and Mischief of the Kingdom, King *Edward* I. issued out Writs to all the Sheriffs of *England*, to inquire of those Abuses, and to stop the Current of them; as by the said Writs, still preserved upon Record, it doth appear. And afterwards to stop the like Exportation of Monies and Goods, (for they would not be brought totally to give over) the same King, by his special Writ, prohibited all of the *Cistercian* Order, except one, *viz.* the Abbot of *Gerendon* Com. *Leic.* who was of that Order, to presume to go beyond the Seas on that Account.

Bundel. Inq. An. 26. Ed. I.

Pat. 27. Ed. I. Pro Abbate de Gerendo.

So the Abbot of *Cluny*, sending his Proctors into *England*, to demand and collect great Sums of Money from the Monasteries and Priories of their Order here, and on all ecclesiastical Persons on whom they had

conferred Benefices without the King's Licence; the King sent out his Writs as well to the said Proctors, to inhibit their Proceedings, as also to the Warden of the Cinque *Ports*, not to permit any Monk of that Order, or any other Servant or Messenger, to pass the Seas, or carry over any Monies, without his special Licence; the Writ to the Warden of the five *Ports* was thus: *Rex dilecto & fideli suo Roberto de Burghersh Custodi Quinque Portuum suorum, Salutem. Datum est nobis intelligi quod Abbas Cluniacensis quosdam ex suis Monachis in Angliam specialiter destinavit, ad petendum & levandum, &c.* (reciting the Occasion at large) *Ideo vobis mandamus firmiter injungentes, quod nullum Monachum Ordinis prædicti, Vailettum seu alium Nuncium quemcunque, Pecuniam deferentem ad Partes transmarinas transire permittatis, sine nostra Licentia speciali. Teste Rege apud Blidam*, &c.

Clauſ. 28. Ed. I. m. 14.

The like Mandate went out afterwards to the Constable of *Dover*, and Warden of the Cinque *Ports*, not to permit any Canon, Valet, or other Messenger of the Order of the *Præmonstratenses*, to carry any Monies, or to pass out of *England*, without the King's special Licence, as was done before for *Cluny*.

Clauſ. 29. Edw. I. m. 8. dorso.

But yet so prevalent were these begging Friars, by their Importunities and Favourers, that, the Monastery of *Cluny* having sustained great Losses, and being deeply in Debt, as was suggested, the King, not-

with-

withſtanding his former Prohibitions, was perſuaded to grant to the Abbot thereof, and his Agent, to come and collect an Aid and Relief from all the Cells and Monaſteries here ſubject to that Order, and from all their Tenants within his Dominions, with full Protection and Incouragement ſo to do; as by his Patent for that Purpoſe remaining upon Record, and too long to be here inſerted, it doth appear.

Cl. 34. Ed. I. Pro Abbate Cluniacenſi.

And upon ſuch, and the like Occaſions, it was that ſometimes privately, and at other Times openly, and with the King's Licenſe, Collections and Contributions were ſet on Foot, and carried on throughout the whole Kingdom, wherein all Art and Rhetoric imaginable was uſed, by Suing, Preaching, and Begging, to draw People to unſtring and depoſit, according to their reſpective Abilities and Inclinations: by which Means, the Nation was always kept bare and poor, whilſt the Wealth thereof was carried away into foreign Parts, and moſtly unto the King's Enemies, as appears by many Complaints thereof, for that Purpoſe made. Particularly, in a Parliament held *An.* 8. *Ed.* III, a ſpecial Petition and Complaint was made by the Commons in that Behalf. And afterwards, in ſeveral Kings Reigns, a Multitude more to the like Effect; as by our Parliamentary Records it doth appear, which for Brevity's Sake we here omit to ſpecify, referring ſuch as would receive further Satisfaction therein to that excellent

Rot. Parl. An. 8 Ed. III.

cellent Abridgment of the Tower Records, collected by the learned Sir *Robert Cotton*, and lately printed.

Speed in Hen. VIII. nu. 77.

Cardinal *Woolsey* at one Time had raked up twelve Barrels full of Gold and Silver, to serve the Pope in his, &c.

CHAP. XII.

Courts.

COurts and Jurisdictions of the Pope, both at *Rome*, and within the Kingdom, drew constantly out of the People's Purses incredible Masses of Money. For to these Courts belonged *Judges*, *Officials*, *Delegates*, *Referendaries*, *Commissaries*, *Datories*, *Scribes*, *Notaries*, *Proctors*, *Registers*, *Summoners*, *Apparitors*, *Clerks*, *Sollicitors*, and a Multitude of other Officers, who all by their Places and Practice grew rich, sent great Sums to their Chief the Pope, and helped to beggar the People. In these Courts all Causes of Contentions, and Instances, between Party and Party, as also *ex Officio*, were entertained and cherished: And the Charge and Expence, going this Way, was so much the worse, in Regard of the Danger, Turmoil, and Vexation continually attending those that had to do in these Courts: For by some other Ways Men were wheedled and gulled out of their Money, to their no

ſmall Content; but here they were ſqueezed, racked, and tortured, as long as their Purſes, or themſelves, could breathe.

Theſe Courts, at firſt, were pretended to be inſtituted for Eccleſiaſtical Perſons and Cauſes only; but then, at the Inſtance of Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, many of the *Laics* were cited to *Rome*, to make Anſwer concerning Buſineſſes not at all belonging to the Cognizance of that Court, as Matters of *Inheritances*, *Gages*, *Pawns*, *Contracts*, &c. And Laics alſo, upon Oath, or Allegation, that they could not have Juſtice before their proper Judges, were admitted, and incouraged to bring their Cauſes to *Rome*, or, out of the King's, into the Pope's Court. And thereupon the Pope's Judges and Officers ſpared not to diſturb all other Places of Judicature, in Derogation of the King's Authority, excommunicating all that would not obey them.

And theſe Courts, as they were managed, became an accumulative Charge and Burden to the People: For the Right of Patronage, belonging to divers Lay and Eccleſiaſtical Perſons, was (under Colour of Prevention or Proviſion) by the Power and Authority of theſe Courts, uſurped by the Pope, his Legates, and Officers, when Benefices were vacant; and then the ſame uſually conferred on Courtiers, Favourites, *Italians*, and Strangers: And, theſe Men dying, either at *Rome*, or in their Way thither, or thence, their Bene-

fices

fices were conferred again by these Courts upon others, to the great Wrong of the right Patrons. And then great Benefices would not be conferred on worthy Persons, or on any other, unless temporary Gratuities and continuing Pensions were first given and secured out of them to the Courtiers, Dependants, and Officers of the Pope. And, in granting these Benefices, many Arts were used to get Money under the Names of *Reservations*, *Permutations*, *Surrogations*, &c.

In these Courts also Excommunications were often denounced for Trifles, but not taken off without great Charge.

Confirmations of Foundations Ecclesiastical, Religious, and Charitable, were here purchased with great Sums of Money.

When the Pope had any Aid or Exhibition from the Ecclesiastics, here were Contrivances that they should be sure to be repaired again by the People.

All trifling frivolous Causes drawn to these Courts, but no Dismission without good Payment.

No public Penance here awarded, without some private Sums to be paid.

Licences for Money to keep a *Femme Putein*. Money exacted of Monks and Friars for Concubinage, on Presumption they had or might have *quam pro quo*. Farming out Livings and Benefices to poor Vicars, at such high Rates, as they were forced to get their Money again of the People by *Confessions*,

ſeſſions, *Anniverſaries*, *Obits*, &c. Burial denied to all that died ſuddenly, or by Chance, on Preſumption they died in mortal Sin, until here ſome good Sum was paid. With infinite other Tricks and Devices, to draw Money from the People, practiſed by theſe Courts, and their Officers, tedious to enumerate, but more intolerable to be borne; as may in ſome Meaſure appear by the Statutes of *Præmunire* and *Proviſors*, pointed at in the former Diſcourſe; with the Suits, Attachments, and Prohibitions, for ſuing for *Lay Fees* in theſe Courts, in Derogation of the Crown, and Impoveriſhing of the People, exemplified by Mr. *Prinne* out of the Tower Records.

Vid. Coke Placit. Coron. cap. 53. W. Prin. Record of King's John Hen. III. Ed. I.

To theſe Courts alſo the Popes ſometimes would be ſo audacious as to cite even Kings themſelves, as claiming Juriſdiction over them. Thus Pope *Boniface* VIII. having a Controverſy with our King *Edwara* I. touching the Realm of *Scotland*, which the Pope affirmed belonged to the Church of *Rome*, wrote to the King, That, if he pretended any Title to the Realm of *Scotland*, he ſhould ſend his Proctors to the Court of *Rome*, with all his Evidences, Proofs, and Inſtruments touching the ſame, there to have and receive Juſtice in the Premiſes.

Matt. Weſt. in An. 1301. fo. 435.

At another Time Pope *Innocent* IV. ſummoned King *Henry* III. to appear to anſwer to one of his *Vaſſals*, *David* by Name; and to give him Satisfaction, for

Matt. Weſt. An. 1246. fo. 317.

ſome

ſome Wrongs, as he ſaid, he had done him. But, in the firſt Caſe, the King, by Advice of his Lords, and Barons, ſlighted the Citation; and to the other nothing was returned but Scoffs and Deriſion.

CHAP. XIII.

Contributions for the Holy Land.

CONtributions for the Relief of the poor diſtreſſed *Chriſtians* in the Holy Land, and to carry on the War againſt the common Enemy of *Chriſtendom*, were frequently ſet on Foot: And by that Means great Sums were as often drained out of the Kingdom; but then a ſmall, or no Part thereof imployed for thoſe Purpoſes. For to this End the Popes often prevailed with Princes to impoſe on their Subjects, and made them the Inſtruments, on this Pretence, to hook Money out of their Pockets.

Sim. Dunelm. Hiſt. fo. 249.

Chron. W. Thorn. Coll. 1926. Gervaſ. Dorobern. 1522.

Johannes Ferentinus was ſent hither from the Pope about that Matter *An. D.* 1206, and ſped ſo well in his Negotiation, and carried ſuch a great Quantity of Money away with him, that King *John* wrote to the Pope the next Year, *Quod liberiores ſibi Fructus proveniant de Regno Angliæ, quam de omnibus Regionibus citra Alpes*, &c. That the Pope had greater Profits out of *England*, than

Matt. Paris in An. 1206. fol. 214.

than all other Countries on this Side the *Alps*, &c. Nay these Levies were continued sometimes for six Years together, as *Thorn* notes: wherein the Kings themselves were wont to promote the Business, by being indulged by the Popes to go Snips in the Gains.

Thorn ut sup.

After the Death of Pope *Clement* IV. the See of *Rome* continued void two Years and ten Months, by Reason of the great Discord and potent Factions amongst the Cardinals: And at last *Theobald*, the Arch-deacon of *Liege*, who had been Comrade and Fellow-soldier with our King *Edw.* I. in the Holy Land, was elected, and took the Name of *Gregory* X. whereupon were made these Verses,

Matt. Westm. fo. 352. Contin. Matt. Paris. fo. 976. Tho. Walsing.

Papatum Munus tenet Archidiaconus unus, An. D. 1272.
Quem Patrem Patrum facit Discordia Fratrum.

The Papal Office one Archdeacon takes,
Whom Father of Fathers Brethren's Discord makes.

King *Edward* I, coming out of the Holy Land into *England*, after the Death of his Father King *Henry* III, touched at *Rome*, where he was nobly entertained and caressed by his old Friend this then Pope *Gregory* X. and between them it was contrived to raise some great Sums in *England*, under

under Pretence of Aid and Succour for the Holy Land: and in Purſuance thereof a ſpecial Nuncio was ſent from the Pope, to compel all Eccleſiaſtical Perſons to pay two Years Diſmes: but ſo it happened, that, as the Monies came in, the King and the Pope's Collectors ſcrambled for it, but the Pope, as was believed, got the greateſt Share; and the King, wanting for his Occaſions of State, was forced to borrow ſeveral Sums of the Collectors, on ſufficient Security given for Repayment, as by the Bonds, Securities, Counter-bonds, and Acquittances, upon that Occaſion, ſtill extant amongſt the Tower Records, may be ſeen; and by this Token, that at one time the King received of the Pope's Collectors 100,000 Marks, but not one Penny, as I can learn, employed for the Uſe pretended.

Raimundus.

Pat. 20 Ed. I. m. 10.

And from this Practice of the King and Pope's going Shares in theſe, and other Sums, gotten from the People, when diſcovered, grew that infamous Proverb, *That the King and the Pope were the Lion and the Wolf*: as, on the like diſtaſted Occaſion, theſe Satyrical Rhymes had alſo been made,

Matt. Paris in An. 1255. fo. 917.

Eccleſiæ Navis titubat, Regni quia Clavis
Errat: Rex, Papa, facti ſunt unica Capa:
Hoc faciunt, Do, Des, Pilatus hic, alter Herodes.

Flor. Hiſt. An. 1306.

The

The Church's Ship in Safety cannot Home paſs,
When the chief Pilot once miſtakes his Compaſs:
When King and Pope are given both to Plund'ring,
One *Pilate* proves, the other *Herod* thund'ring.

Which Trick of ſharing with the Popes was learned by the French Kings of ours: but ſome of them grew ſo cunning at laſt as to put all that was raiſed that Way into their own Pockets, and ſo out-ſhot the Pope in his own Bow. Arnold. Ferron. de Reb. Gall.

CHAP. XIV.

CROISADO's.

CRoisado's, and vowed Expeditions to the Holy Land, and against *Turks*, and Infidels, dispensed withal, or commuted, was another Trick of the like Nature, and oftentimes brought great Sums into the Pope's Exchequer.

S. Hen. Blunt's Voyage into the Levant.

For it being observed that the *Turks* ever warred against the *Christians* with great Alacrity, upon a Belief that, if they were killed, *ipso facto*, they went into *Mahomet*'s Paradise: The Pope, to beat the *Turk* at his own Weapon, would oftentimes publish a Croisado, that is, invite Persons to undertake Expeditions against the Infidels, upon Promise of Pardon of all their Sins: *Quicunque Clericus, vel Laicus, Crucem acceperit, ab omnibus Peccatis suis, Auctoritate Dei, & beatorum Apostolorum Petri & Pauli, & summi Pontificis, liberatus est, & absolutus*, as was declared in one of our Councils. Upon which Multitudes of all Sorts, as Kings, Nobles, and common People, according to the Zeal and Persuasion of those Times, would vow to go and list themselves for the Holy War, and, in Token thereof, continually afterwards wore upon their Backs the Sign or Badge of a red Cross, as being to fight against the Enemies of *Christ*'s Cross.

Capitula apud Gaitintun. Chron. Gervas. fo. 1522. Temp. Hen. II. Spelm. Council. Tom. 2. fo. 117. Rad. de Diceto Coll. 707.

Crouchbacks.

Now

Now the Pope, being God's Lieutenant over these Troops, for Money would absolve these of their Vows, or such of them, as, upon second Thoughts, desired to stay at Home. Frequently would he also divert and turn their Arms to other Uses, as to subdue the *Albigenses*, *Waldenses*, and many others of the Pope's private Enemies. And *Matthew Paris* tells a Story, how once the Pope sold these crossed Pilgrims to others, even for ready Money, as the *Jews* did their Sheep and their Doves in the Temple. Besides, when some great Expedition was in Hand, and great Contributions made to carry on the War, the Pope must be made the Treasurer; but never gave any Account of his Disbursements, keeping, or converting all, or most of the Money, to his own Use. Also, in Absence of Princes upon those Expeditions, the Popes, and their Officers, took their full Swings, to the Inriching of themselves, besides many other considerable Advantages and Acquists, as by the Histories and Complaints of *Christendom*, in that Matter, most fully and at large, it doth appear.

Will. Malmsb. lib. 4. cap. 2.

Matt. Paris in An. 1250. fo. 803.

CHAP. XV.

Ambassadors, Agents.

AMbassadors Leiger and Extraordinary, Proctors, and Agents, constantly residing at *Rome*, with their Retinues and Servants, maintained there by our Kings, drew as constantly great Sums of Money out of the Kingdom. For, *Rome* being the Seat of Policy, and the Popes making themselves concerned and busy in the Affairs of all Princes, these took it, as it was indeed, their Interest, to have continually their respective Agents and Ambassadors there, to sollicit for their Master's Interest, to oppose contrary Factions, and to gain Intelligences.

And, for these and the like Purposes, our Kings always had two, three, or more at a Time there: from, and to whom, Multitudes of Internuncio's, Carriers, and Messengers, were continually posting, and running with Letters, Instructions, and Dispatches; all occasioning a vast Expence. And by these it was that the Popes were courted and caressed; their Nephews, Cardinal Patrons, and Favourites bribed and presented: For the Popes are never without their Creatures, and *Privado's*, a *Cæsar Borgia*, a *Donna Olympia*, or some such-like, who must be effectually dealt withal, and by them Way made to the Pope's Ear and Favour; besides

Il Nipotismo di Roma.

Pensions

Penſions and Gratuities to Servants and Officers, through whoſe Hands Buſineſs ran, for Expedition, Intelligence, &c.

One memorable Record teſtifying all this, with the King's Care to tranſmit Monies to his Ambaſſadors, for the Purpoſes aforeſaid, it will not be amiſs here to exhibit: *Rex omnibus Mercatoribus ad quos, &c. Sciatis quod quicunque mutuo tradiderit Hen. Abbati Belli Loci, & Thomæ de Ardinton, & Amfredo de Dene, Nunciis noſtris, quos miſimus ad Curiam Romanam pro Negotiis noſtris, quingentas Marcas: nos ei, vel Nuncio ſuo has Literas noſtras referenti una cum Literis prædictorum Nunciorum Summam illius Mutui, eas plene perſolvemus: Et ad hoc nos obligamus per noſtras has Literas Patentes. Teſte Dom. P. Winton. Epiſcopo apud Rokingham* 20 *Die Febr. Anno Regni noſtri* 8. *Et injunctum eſt Thomæ de Ardinton & Amfredro de Dene, qui habent in hac Forma quatuor Paria Chartarum, ſingulas de* D. *Marcis, ita quod per totum ſunt* M M *Marc. quod nihil inde expendant ſicut diligant Corpora ſua, ante Conſummationem Negotii pro quo remittuntur ad Curiam: Et debent reddere Juſtic. Cartam de* M *Marcis de priore etinere ſuo, in quo tulerunt Chartas de* MMM *Marcis, & non expenderunt per totum niſi* MM *Marcas, vacatis inde* 30 *Marc. de uno Anno de Foedo P. Fil. Ric. Fratri Dom. Papæ: & O Hanibal* 60 *Marc. & ad dict. Termin. caſſand. de* 50 *Marc. Et Nepoti Dom.*

Pat. 8 & 9 Joh. Reg. n. 5. m. 3.

Port. 20 *Marc. Et præceptum est Justic. quod Cartam illam afferat Regi. Et præceptum est Thomæ de Ardinton quod Cartam Nepotis Dom. Port. quæ liberetur, antequam Nomen inserebatur, afferat, quoniam Nomen nesciebatur cum Carta scripta fuit.* A notable Record this, implying the King's Care and Caution in that Affair.

So King *Edward* I, sending *Franciscus Accursius* and other Messengers to *Rome* about his Affairs there, issued several Instruments for furnishing them with Money, and Payment of the annual Pension to his Advocate in *Rome*, and to a Cardinal at *Rome*, granted to them, till they could be preferred by him to Benefices, or Offices, of greater Value; all preserved to this Day, too long to be here transcribed, of which let this one satisfy, as a Specimen of the rest: *Rex Orlandino de Podio, & Sociis suis Mercatoribus de Luk Salutem. Mandamus vobis, quod de Denariis nostris vel vestris in Custodia vestra existentibus habere faciatis, dilecto Clerico nostro Domino Francisco Accursio & Sociis suis Nunciis nostris ad Curiam Romanam proficiscentibus, rationabiles Expensas suas quibus indigent in eundo, ibidem morando, & redeundo, ad Expeditionem Negotiorum prædictorum. Et, cum sciverimus quantum eis liberaveritis, nos debitam Allocationem seu Quietanciam vobis inde habere faciemus. Teste Rege apud Shotwik* xvij. *Die Sept.*

Pat. 6. Ed. I. m. 6. De Denariis Fran. Accursio & Sociis Nunciis Regis ad Cur. Romanam.

Many

Many other Transcripts and Instruments of the like Nature might here be produced as likewise Promises, and Assurances of Gratuities, and annual Pensions to Cardinals, and others, to engage them to promote the King's Businesses in the Court of *Rome*. And in one Year only King *Edward* I. sent Letters and Addresses, with competent Sums and Arrears of Pensions to no fewer than seventeen Cardinals, and Officers in the Court of *Rome*, to engage them to attend, and promote his Affairs there.

Chart. 1 John nu. 12. Claus. 10. Hen. III. m. 1. dors. Pat. 52. Hen. III. nu. 15. Pro. R. S. Angeli Diacon. Cardinal. Claus. 9. Ed. I.

By these Ambassadors and Agents the King's Gratuities and Bounty were handed to the Popes, upon several Occasions: As King *Henry* VIII, in the Year 1526, sent to Pope *Clement* VII, being in some Distress, thirty thousand Ducats for a Present. At another Time, in the same King's Reign, the Pope being under Restraint and Want, by the Emperor's Means, the Cardinal of *York* carried, at one Time, out of the Kingdom 240,000 l. of the King's Treasure, to work his Delivery.

Lo. Herb. Hist, fo. 211.

Holinshead in Hen. VIII.

Speed in Hen. VIII.

The last public Ambassador sent hence, and residing at *Rome*, was Sir *Edward Carne*, Doctor of the Civil Law, knighted by the Emperor *Charles* V. who lay Leiger there several Years, and there died about the Beginning of the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*; and ever since that Way of Negotiation and Expence, to the great Ease of the Exchequer, hath ceased.

CHAP. XVI.

STRANGERS BENEFICED.

A Nother Way of draining infinite Sums, out of this Kingdom, to *Rome* and *Italy*, was the Conferring of Bishoprics, and all Sorts of ecclesiastical Benefices, Offices, and Promotions, upon Strangers, and chiefly *Italians*.

These constantly residing at *Rome*, and in *Italy*, had their Farmers, Factors, and Agents here, to collect their Rents and Revenues, and transmit the same to *Rome*, to be received and spent there.

Matt. Paris in An. 1253.

In the Year 1253, an Inquisition was taken of this, whereby it appeared, that the ecclesiastical Revenues in *England*, of the *Italians* (whereof many were Boys, more Dunces, but all Aliens) did amount to no less than threescore and ten thousand Marks *per Annum*: Esteemed a greater Revenue, at that Time, than that of the King; which occasioned the sharp Letter of *Robert Grosthead* to the Pope, about that Grievance, with the Pope's disdainful Reception of the same, at large related by *Mat. Paris*, and of which more hereafter.

At a Parliament held *An.* 1379, a great Complaint was made of Foreigners holding ecclesiastical Benefices, many Cardinals at *Rome* having the best Promotions and Livings conferred on them, or granted to hold in *Commendam*, of which there are Catalogues yet extant. And of this many Mischiefs did ensue: As little or no Divine Service, or Instruction of the People; No Hospitality kept for the Relief of the Poor: Decay of Houses, and Increase of Barbarism; so that, between the *Italian* Hospitality, which none could ever see, and a little *Latin* Service, which few or none could understand, the poor *English* were ill fed, but worse taught: And, lastly, the Exhausting the Wealth of the Land, to the Impoverishing of the People, and Weakening of the King and Kingdom, in Case of Invasion, or any Attempts against them. But, how all this was then resented, you shall hear more anon.

Rot. Parl. An. 3 Ric. II.

Acts & Mon. Tom. 1. f. 389.

Memorable is it, that in the Reigns of King *Hen.* VII. and King *Hen.* VIII. the Bishopric of *Worcester* had four *Italians* successively, of which none ever lived there.

Johannes Gigles, or *de Liliis*, born at *Luca*.
Sylvester Gigles, his Nephew, succeeded.
Julius Medicis, a Cardinal of *Rome*, Nephew to Pope *Leo* X, and afterwards Pope himself by the Name of *Clement* VII.
Hieronymus de Nugutiis, upon the Resignation of *Julius Medicis*, enjoyed it many Years.

Godw. de Præsul. Angl. in Wigorn.

And

And ſuch Prevalence had the Popes and Cardinals in this Matter, that once King *Edward* I, having promiſed the Cardinal-ſhop of *Sabine*, at his Inſtance, to preſent one *Nivianus*, an *Italian*, his Chamberlain, to a Benefice in *Lincolnſhire*, then in his Gift by the Death of another *Italian* the Pope's Chaplain, and, forgetting his Promiſe, preſented his own Clerk thereunto; but, being reminded thereof, to make good his Promiſe, he revoked his firſt Preſentation, and preſented *Nivianus* to it, as appears by his Patent for that Purpoſe, ſtill preſerved amongſt our Records.

Pat. 25. Ed. I. m. 16. De Præſentatione pro M. Antonio de Niviano.

At ſuch Time as *Rubeus* and *Ruffinus*, two of the Pope's Factors, were very buſy here in *England* in collecting Money for the Pope, one *Mumelinus* comes from *Rome*, with four and twenty *Italians*, with Orders, that they ſhould be admitted to ſo many of the beſt Benefices that ſhould next fall void. And in the ſame Year it was, that the Pope made Agreement with the People of *Rome*, that, if they would effectually aid him againſt *Frederic* the Emperor, their Children ſhould be put into all the vacant Benefices in *England*: And thereupon Order was ſent to the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, the Biſhops of *Lincoln* and *Saliſbury*, that Proviſion ſhould be made for three hundred *Roman* Children, to be ſerved of the next Benefices that ſhould fall: *Unde Stupor magnus Corda hæc Audientium*

Mat. Paris in An. 1240, fo. 540.

Matt. Paris in eodem anno.

Audientium occupavit; *timebaturque quod in Abyssum Desperationis, talia audiens, mergeretur*, as the Historian hath it: But this made such an Impression upon the Archbishop, being a tender Man, to see the Church in that Manner wounded, and so much Evil in his Days, that he disposed of his Affairs, and retired into *France*, where, for a little While, he lived, bewailing the deplorable State of his Country, and of Grief died at *Pontiniac*.

Godwin. in Vita ejus.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Priories-Alien.

PRiories-Alien were another Cause or Means of carrying great Sums, for a long Time, out of the Kingdom. And these were of this Original, *viz.* according to the Devotion of the Times, many foreign Monasteries and religious Houses were endowed with Possessions here in *England:* and then the Monks beyond Sea, partly to propagate more of their own Rule and Order, and partly to place Stewards, as it were, to transmit a good Proportion of the Rents and Profits of these their new acquired Possessions, at so great a Distance, would either by themselves, or the Assistance of others, build a Cell, or competent and convenient Reception, for some small Convent, to which they sent over, from Time to Time, such Numbers as they thought fit, and constituted Priors over them successively, as Occasion required: and thereupon they were called *Priories-Aliens*, because they were Cells to some Monasteries beyond the Seas. And these Foundations became frequent after the Conquest; so as, in the Reign of King *Edward* III, they were increased to the Number of one hundred and ten in *England.*

With some Proportion or Allowance out of the Revenues of these, the *Prior* and *Monks*

ſent over were maintained, and the Reſidue tranſmitted to the Houſes to which they were allied, to the great Damage of the Kingdom, and Inriching of Strangers.

In Time, the Foundations of theſe *Priories-Alien* became very numerous, being ſpread all over the Kingdom. One *John Norbury* erected two, the one at *Greenwich*, the other at *Lewſham* in *Kent*; both belonging to the Abbey of *Ghent* in *Flanders*. Lamb. Peram. of Kent. Weav. Fun. Mon.

At *Wolſton* in *Warwickſhire*, a Cell, or religious Houſe, was founded, ſubordinate to the Abbey of St. *Peter Super Dinam* in *France*. Another at *Monks-Kirby*, in the ſame County, founded by *Geffery Wirce* of *Little Britain* in *France*, appropriated to the Monaſtery of *Angiers*, the principal City of *Anjou*. And another at *Wotton Wawen*, in the ſame County, a Cell of *Benedictine* Monks, belonging to *Conchis* in *Normandy*: of all which Mr. *Dugdale* hath ſeveral Remarks of Antiquity. W. Dugd. Warw. in Wolſton. Id. fo. 50. Id. fo. 604.

At *Hinckley*, in *Leiceſterſhire*, a Priory of Canons *Aliens* was founded by *Robert Blanchmains* Earl of *Leiceſter*, or as ſome ſay by *Hugh Gramdmeiſnell* Baron of *Hinckley*, belonging to the Abbey of *Lira* in *Normandy*: and this of a very good Value. Burton Deſcrip. of Leic. fo. 134.

Roger de Poictiers founded a Cell for *Monks-Aliens* at *Lancaſter*. Camb. Brit. in Lancaſt.

Edward the Confeſſor, by his Teſtament, aſſigned the religious Place at *Deochirſt* in the County of *Glouceſter*, and the Govern- Id. in Gloceſt. fo. 360.

ment

ment thereof to the Monaſtery of St. *Denis* near *Paris* in *France*: in this remarkable, that it will be hard to give another Inſtance of ſuch an Aſſignation before the *Norman* Conqueſt.

Stow's Survey in Broadſtreet Ward. Lindwood Conſtit. l. b. 3. Tit. 20.

King *Henry* III. once gave Licence to the *Jews*, at their great Charge, to build a *Synagogue* in *London*; which when they had finiſhed, he ordered ſhould be dedicated to the Virgin *Mary*, and then made it a Cell to St. *Anthony*'s in *Vienna*.

Stow's Survey in Weſtm. fo. 495.

And near unto *Charing-Croſs* there was another, annexed to the Lady of *Runciavall* in *Navarre*, in the Dioceſe of *Pampelone*, founded in the fifteenth Year of King *Edward* IV.

Camb. in Midd. fo. 420.

At *Sion* in *Middleſex*, there was anciently a Monaſtery for *Monks-Aliens*: Mr. *Cambden* tells us when they were expelled, and how it was converted into a *Nunnery* for Virgins, to the Honour of our Saviour, the Virgin *Mary*, and St. *Bridget* of *Sion*.

Lindwood l. 3. Tit. 20.

But *Lindwood* tells us, that the ſuperior Houſe, to which at firſt it belonged, not mentioned by Mr. *Cambden*, was at *Waſtena*, in the Kingdom of *Sweden*, of the *Rule* of St. *Auſtin*.

Harpsfield Catalog. Æd. Rel. fo. 762.

But the richeſt of all for annual Revenue was that which *Yvo Talbois* built at *Spalding* in *Lincolnſhire*, giving it to the Monks of *Angiers* in *France*: the yearly Revenue whereof was valued at 878 *l.* 18 *s.* 3 *d.* *per Annum*.

Inſtances

Instances might be made of a Multitude more of the like Foundations, all tending to carry Money out of the Kingdom, and most commonly to the King's Enemies beyond the Seas. Which Mischief being apprehended, and great Complaints thereof frequently made in Parliament, these *Priories-Alien* became oftentimes seized into the King's Hands, and the Revenues thereof sequestered to the King's Use: and then Restitutions made, and Seizures again, as Occasion required; until the fourth Year of King *Henry* IV, when a new Consideration was had in Parliament about these *Priories-Alien*, and resolved that all should again be seized into the King's Hands, excepting those that were conventual: and thereupon Summons was given to all the said *Priors* to appear on the *Octaves* of St. *Hilary* at *Westminster*, and to bring with them all their Charters and Evidences, whereby the King and his Council might be satisfied, whether they had been *Priories* conventual Time out of Mind or not. But notwithstanding this Act, and that the former Seizures had been made upon this Ground, that by Transportation of the Revenues belonging to these *English* Cells to those Houses in *France*, whereunto many of them belonged, and were subordinate, the King's Enemies, at such Times as he had Wars with the *French*, were assisted: in the Parliament held at *Leicester*, *An.* 2. *Henry* V, it being considered, that, though a final Peace might afterwards be made between

Rot. Parl. 50. E. III. nu. 128.

Claus. 4 Hen. IV. nu. 30.

England

England and *France*, yet the Carrying over ſuch great Sums of Money yearly to thoſe foreign Monaſteries would be much prejudicial to this Kingdom, and the People thereof: there was an Act then made, that all the Poſſeſſions in *England*, belonging to the ſaid *Priories-Alien*, ſhould thenceforth remain to the King, his Heirs, and Succeſſors for ever, excepting ſuch whereof ſpecial Declaration was then made to the Contrary: *Al intent* (ſays the Act) *que divine Services en les Lieux avant dictz purront pluis duement eſtre fait per Genti Anglois en Temps avenir, que n'ount eſte fait devant ceſt Heurs en icelles per Gents Francois*, &c. intimating the Miſ-imployment of the ſame. And ſo from thenceforth our Kings diſpoſed of theſe *Priories-Alien*, and all their Revenues ariſing hence, in ſuch Manner as they thought moſt conducible to the Good and Eaſe of themſelves and the People: Which Act of State proved a *Præludium* to the Diſſolution which befel the intire Engliſh Monaſteries, in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII.

Rot. Parl. 2. Hen. V. nu. 9.

CHAP.

CHAP. XVIII.

KNIGHTS TEMPLARS and HOSPITALLERS.

THE Orders of the Knights Templars and Hospitallers were also possessed of large Revenues and Lands here; a great Part of the Profit whereof was transported away, and spent out of the Kingdom.

For the Original, Rule, and Nature of these Orders, several have collected and exhibited them, particularly Mr. *Dugdale*, to whom those that would be satisfied therein are referred. For our Purpose, let it be sufficient to note, That, in the Year 1307, by the King's special Command, and a Bull from the Pope, the Templars were generally throughout the Kingdom laid Hold on, and cast into Prison, and all their Possessions seized into the King's Hands. The Crimes objected against them were very heinous, contained in divers Articles; but, whether true, or false, we will not now examine. And it was not long after that the whole Order was condemned, and suppressed in a General Council at *Vienna*, under Pope *Clement* V. and their Possessions given to the Knights *Hospitallers*, who enjoyed the same here till the thirty-second Year of King *Henry* VIII, when an Act of Parliament was made, reciting, That divers of the King's Subjects, called Knights of St. *John* of *Jerusalem*,

W. Dugd. Hist. of Warw. fol. 704. An. 1 Ed. II.

Hen. d'Knighton coll. 2531.

Th. Walsingh. Hist. fo. 73. An. D. 1311.

Stat. 32 Hen. VIII. cap. 24.

abiding beyond the Sea, receiving yearly out of this Realm great Sums of Money, have unnaturally, and contrary to the Duty of their Allegiances, ſuſtained and maintained the uſurped Power and Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome*, lately uſed and practiſed within this Realm, he the ſaid Biſhop being a common Enemy to the King our Sovereign Lord, and this his Realm: and conſidering, that it were better that the Poſſeſſions in this Realm, belonging to ſuch as adhered to the Biſhop of *Rome*, ſhould be employed and ſpent within this Realm, for the Defence of the ſame, than converted to and amongſt ſuch unnatural Subjects, *&c.* It was enacted, That the ſaid *Corporation* of Knights *Hoſpitallers*, within his Majeſty's Dominions, ſhould be utterly diſſolved, and that the King, his Heirs, *&c.* ſhould have all their Manors, Lands, *&c.* And ſo the Kingdom was freed of that Miſchief, which their Tranſporting ſo much Money yearly out of it had occaſioned.

Sand. de Schiſm. lib. 2. fo. 309.

Queen *Mary* (a Princeſs more zealous, than wiſe, or politic) made ſome Attempt to reſtore the Convents diſſolved by her Father and Brother: particularly re-inſtating the *Benedictines* at *Weſtminſter*: The *Carthuſians* at *Shene*: The *Bridgetteans* at *Sion*: The *Dominicans* at *Smithfield* in *London*: A Sort of *Franciſcans*, heretofore zealous for the Legality of her Mother's Marriage, at *Greenwich*: And the *Hoſpitallers* of St. *John*'s of *Jeruſalem* in *Clarkenwell*: But her

her Example was not followed by any of the Nobility, or others, who had incorporated any of the Abbey Lands into their Eſtates; but the Queen reſtored only what remained in the Crown un-aliened from the ſame: But yet ſuch a Beginning of her's gave a ſhrewd Alarm to all the reſt, that they ſhould be attacked, in a convenient Time, with ſome Acts of Reſumption, which would compel them to refund; and that the rather, becauſe Cardinal *Pool*, in that Act, in this Queen's Reign, to ſecure the Abbey Lands to the then Owners (without a formal Paſſing whereof to quiet, at preſent, ſo many Perſons concerned, Popery would not ſo eaſily have been reſtored at that Time) would not abſolve their Conſciences from Reſtitution, but only made, as it were, a temporary palliative Cure, the Church of *Rome* but ſuſpending that Power, which, in due Time, was to be put in Execution. But, for our Hoſpitallers, as I ſaid before, they were, with ſome others, reſtored, and placed in their ſhattered Manſion in *Clarkenwell*, Sir *Thomas Treſham* being made the Prior of the Order. But the ſhort Reign of that Queen prevented farther Reſtitutions: And Queen *Elizabeth*, coming to the Crown, permitted all Things to remain for ſome Time, as ſhe found them; ſo that at her firſt Parliament ſhe ſent Writs to the *Lord Prior Treſham* and *Abbot Fecknam* to appear as Barons therein; but they were ſcarce warm in their Seats, but they, with all the reſt of the late reſtored Orders,

Stow's Survey fo. 483.

were once again diſſolved; and the Kingdom's Fears of Refunding and Reſumption, for that Time, cured, with the Addition of Hope never to be ſo frighted again.

As Allies and Succeſſors to theſe Knights Templars and Hoſpitallers, it will not be amiſs to note ſomething of the Knights of *Malta*. How they were firſt expelled out of the Holy Land, and then out of *Rhodes* by the *Turks*; how afterwards they ſeated at *Nice* and *Syracuſe* ſucceſſively, and at laſt ſettled in the Iſland *Malta*, where now they are; we refer thoſe that would be ſatisfied therein to the Hiſtorians and Travellers that have taken Notice of them. But we are informed by our late Travellers, That now in the City of *Valetta*, in *Malta*, they have *Albergs*, *Halls*, or *Seminaries* of the eight ſeveral Nations of the Order, which are the *French*, *Italians*, *German*, *Engliſh*, *Provençal*, *Auvergnois*, *Caſtilian*, and *Arragonian*: Theſe *Albergs* are Buildings like Colleges; and the *Seignior* of each Nation is Superior of the *Alberg*, *Grand Prior* of his Nation, of the *Gran Croce*, as they call it, and of the *Privy* Council of the Great Maſter. Amongſt theſe there is an *Alberg*, or an Apartment for the *Engliſh* Nation, or rather a Piece of Ground incloſed, with the Foundation of an *Alberg*, the Walls being not quite reared up. This ſtanding now void, for Want of *Engliſh* to ſtock it, ſome of the Citizens would have bought the Ground, to have built upon: but the Grand

Geo. Sandys's Trav. lib. 4. fo. 229. Travels of Jo. Ray, fo. 303.

Maſter

Maſter and Council would not ſell it, expecting that one Day the *Engliſh* Nation would be reduced again to the Obedience of the *Romiſh* Church, and then it would be finiſhed, and repleniſhed with ſuch for whom it was firſt deſigned. In the Time of Mr. *Sandys*'s being there, an *Iriſhman*, living in *Naples*, and receiving a large Penſion from the King of *Spain*, bore the Title of *Grand Prior* for the *Engliſh*; but, who hath ſince ſucceeded in that Office, I have not thought it very neceſſary to inquire. And in like Manner, as we are informed, the other diſſolved Orders, eſpecially thoſe that were of greateſt Note, and moſt richly endowed, ſtill keep up and continue their Succeſſions, as well as they can, with Rentals, and Particulars of the Poſſeſſions of their reſpective Houſes, in Hopes they will revert once again to their former Uſe.

CHAP. XIX.

ELECTIONS OF POPES AND CARDINALS.

THE Election and Making of Popes and Cardinals was another Way of carrying great Sums frequently out of *England* to *Rome*. And that upon this Account:

The Pope being both a ſpiritual Monarch and a temporal Prince, it could not otherwiſe be, but, by that Sway which he bore in the Conſciences of ſuch as owned his Authority, he came to have a great Influence over all the State Affairs of *Chriſtendom*, beſides his challenging a Power to depoſe Kings, abſolve Subjects of their Oaths of Allegiance, diſpenſe with Vows and Oaths, and diſpoſe of Kingdoms and States as he pleaſed: and then, the Kings and States of *Europe* acting according to their reſpective Rules of State and Policy, there continually happened a Reciprocation and Recurrence of Treaties, Leagues, Alliances, Quarrels, and Wars amongſt them: And, the Popedom being elective, all thoſe Princes and States (amongſt whom our Kings had their proper Concerns) made it their Intereſt, and utmoſt Endeavour, in a Vacan-

Vacancy, to procure the Promotion of ſuch a one to that *See*, as might be favourable, or at leaſt not noxious to their Intereſts and Deſigns. And hence all ſubtle Contrivances, the ſecret Cabals, ſometimes the Twiſting, and at other Times the Unravelling of Intereſts and Factions, the Canvaſſing of Parties, the Buying of Votes, the Purchaſing of Intelligence, the Bribing of Officers, and any Thing, or every Thing that Money would do, muſt be ſet on Foot, and carried on with the utmoſt Vigour, Coſt, and Pains. At ſuch a Time and Occaſion, *Rome* becomes thronged with Ambaſſadors and Agents, with their Guards and Retinue, from all Quarters, and all at a vaſt Expence, watching, labouring, and ſweating, every one for his Maſter's Buſineſs: whilſt the Roads are peſtered with Meſſengers, Couriers, and Poſts, carrying and re-carrying of News, Intelligence, and Inſtructions.

Then, by Reaſon of all this Packing and Canvaſſing, it often happens that the Conclave cannot agree in many Months, though generally thoſe Princes, who had been moſt liberal, have had their Turns ſerved; and many Times again, by Reaſon of the fierce Oppoſition and Difficulties, the Cardinals, not to diſguſt the contending Factions, are fain to pitch upon ſome heavy, old, overgrown Man, who is likely to do neither Hurt nor Good, or at leaſt not long; and

ſometimes again the Conclave becomes ſo divided and rent, that one Part of them chuſes a Pope, and another Part an Anti-Pope, and, when theſe (with their Partiſans) have for ſome Time ſcuffled, tugged, and fought for it, in comes a third Dog, and catches the Hare from them both: and ſometimes three Popes have been up, and in Play, at one Time. In this Hurly-burly St. *Peter*'s Chair is overturned and broke in Pieces; one Pope ſnatches up Part of it, and runs into *Germany*; another ſcrambles for another Part, and runs with it into *France*; whilſt another pieces up the remaining Shivers, and ſeats himſelf at *Rome*. Preſently the World is filled with Complaints, Remonſtrances, and Manifeſto's: The Emperor ſtorms, and ſays his Man had foul Play, and that his Imperial Eagle ſhall fly his utmoſt Pitch to do him Right: The ſurly *Spaniard* grumbles, and proteſts he will hazard all his *Indies*, before his Creature ſhall be ſo baffled: And the *French* King ſwears that all his *Flowers de Lis* ſhall wither, before his Confident ſhall be rooted out: neither are our Kings of *England* only Lookers-on whilſt this Game is in Playing, but either their Arms, or their Money, muſt be laid to ſtake on one Side.

In this Battle Royal, after many Encounters and Rencounters, the Weakeſt, though

though not always the Worſt, moſt commonly goes to the Wall: one of them perhaps ſent out of the World with a Fig, or a Potion: another intrapped, and thrown into a Dungeon: whilſt the third, for a few Months, or it may be Years, ſtruts up and down, claps his Wings, and crows as Victor; and then goes himſelf to the Pot, and leaves the Pit for other Combatants, and the Spectators to their Expectation of more Sport.

Of this Sort *Bellarmine* reckons up ſix and twenty Shiſms in the *Romiſh* Church, but *Onuphrius*, a more exact Accountant, reckons up thirty; whereof ſome laſted ten, ſome twenty, and one fifty Years. The Contemplation whereof hath cauſed ſome to make a very ſhrewd Objection againſt the perfect Unity, complete Succeſſion, and divine Infallibility, ſo much boaſted of in that Church.

Onuphr. in Vita Clem. VII.

I might and could eaſily here make particular Inſtances of all theſe famous Bickerings, Scuffles, and Counter-ſcuffles: but, the ſame being obvious to all that converſe with Books, and ſomething having been lately worthily done to that Purpoſe, and it being a Parergon to the Drift of theſe Papers, we will no farther engage in theſe Quarrels, than to note, that they were the Cauſe, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, of great Expence to our *Engliſh* Kings, when they thought it their Intereſt to have a Friend ſeated in the Pontifical

Dr. Stillingfleet of the Diviſions of the Rom. Church.

tifical Chair: and, the Reason of that Policy now ceasing, we being altogether uncomcerned in that Affair, the Money, that used to leak that Way, is kept within the Kingdom, to the great Ease, Quiet, and Benefit both of King and People.

I will only here take Liberty to mention one famous Schism, the Procedure and Conclusion thereof justifying all that we have before pointed at in this Matter. About the Year 1404 *Innocent*, VII. being Pope, by the Prevalence of a Faction, one *Petrus de Luna* was set up at *Avignon*, as Antipope against him: between these was great Struggling, and Holding, till the Death of *Innocent*; but the Faction died not with him, for the Cardinals chose *Gregory* XII, between whom, and *Peter de Luna*, who called himself *Benedict* XIII, the Schism continued with great Fury, whereby such Mischief and Disturbances grew in the World, that to appease the Matter there was no other Remedy, but to depose them both; which was done in a Council at *Pisa*; and a third Man, *Alexander* V, chosen in their Rooms; the two disbanded Popes sneaking away to their Friends: But, this *Alexander* soon dying, as not enjoying his Dignity above eight Months, *Balthasar Cossa* was chosen in his Stead, who took the Name of *John* XXIV. and then the two discarded Popes peep out, and begin to stir again, with many Abetters on all Sides. To compose

Platina in Vitis Innocent. VII. Gregory. XII. Alex. V. Jo. XXIV.

Peter Moon.

A Neapolitan.

compose all which, (there being now three Popes on Foot, at once:) a Council was called at *Constance*, where all these three were deposed: in which Transaction the King of *England* had a great Stroke, as *Platina* expresly says: but long it was, and with much ado, before all would submit to *Martin* V, who was then chosen; *Gregory* XII. died soon of Grief upon it: *Peter de Luna* betakes himself to a strong Castle, and stands upon his Guard and Justification, having many Friends, and particularly the *Scots*, as is specially remembered; but all would not do, his Party was run down, and he from that Time vanished: The third, that is, *John* XXIV, took his Heels, and ran for it, in a Disguise, but, being discovered and apprehended by the Count *Palatine*, he was kept several Years a Prisoner; *Platina* says in the Castle of *Heidleberg*, but *Camerarius* hath it in the Castle of *Mansheim*, where, says he, they use to shew the Chamber, in which he was imprisoned, and where, at his Exit, he left these Verses, of his own Making, bewailing the Lubricity of Fortune, the Vanity of the World, and his own Captivity:

In Vita Johan. XXIV.

Camerar. Hist. Meditat. l. 4. cap. 7.

Qui modo summus eram, gaudens & Nomine, Præsul,
Tristis & abjectus nunc mea Fata gemo.
Excelsus Solio nuper versabar in alto,
Cunctaque Gens Pedibus Oscula prona dabat.

Nunc

Nunc ego Pœnarum Fundo devolvor in imo ;
Vultum deformem quemque videre piget.
Omnibus è Terris Aurum mihi Sponte ferebant,
Sed nec Gaza juvat ; nec quis Amicus adeſt.
Sic varians Fortuna Vices, adverſa ſecundis
Subdit, & ambiguo Nomine ludit atrox.

Papa fecit.

I, who of late enjoy'd the higheſt Place,
Now, all forlorn, bewail my wretched Caſe.
I lately wore the glorious Triple Crown,
All kiſs'd my Feet with humbly-falling down :
But now I'm thrown into a Pit of Woe,
And my abhorred Face dare hardly ſhow.
From all Parts Treaſure flowed in to me,
But now, or Gold, or Friend, I cannot ſee.
Thus Fortune's rolling Wheel purſues its Scope,
Sometimes ſhe ſmiles, and then deludes our Hope.

By the Pope.

But upon his Exauctoration, or Reducement, one made this Diſtich :

Balthaſar

Balthaſar imprimis vocitabar, & inde Johannes,
Depoſitus, rurſus Balthaſar ipſe vocor.

Firſt *Balthaſar*, and then Pope *John* I was,
But now, depos'd, for *Balthazar* muſt paſs.

Neither was all this Labouring, Tugging, and Canvaſſing, for that ſupreme Dignity of the Popedom only, but proportionably as great Endeavours and Expences were had for the Obtaining of the intermediate Promotions of Priories, Abbacies, Biſhoprics, and Cardinalſhips, all being as mediate Steps, whereby to mount at laſt the Pontifical Throne. And this Matter of Promotion, and Preferment, continually carried great Sums to *Rome*, from private and particular Perſons, who aimed to climb as high as Money would carry them; and, without that, the greateſt Merit or Endeavours were but to little Purpoſe. Ambition is rooted in the Nature of all Men, and ſcarce ever any took Orders, but he deſigned to arrive at the higheſt Dignity his Order was capable of: hence all that Holding, Thruſting, and Striving, for all thoſe improveable and growing Preferments here, from the Prieſt to the Biſhop: and all that Appealing and Running to *Rome* for Confirmation: and, after that, all the Sollicitations, Bribing, and Driving of Intereſts for a Cardinalſhip: and never any Reſt, till they arrive at St. *Peter*'s Chair, or the Grave.

In

Speed's Chron. in Hen. V.

In the Reign of King *Henry* V. what a vaſt Sum of Money was amaſſed by *H. Beaufort*, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*, of which at one Time he lent the King 20,000 l. and took his Crown to pawn for it; with Part of this he obtained a Cardinalſhip, but lived not to finiſh, with the reſt, his deſigned Purchaſe of the Papacy.

Lo. Herb. Hiſt. Hen. VIII

In the Reign of King *Henry* VIII. the great and rich *Woolſey* was never quiet, but always careſſing, and preſenting with great Sums, ſometimes the Emperor, ſometimes the King of *France*, and at all Times ſome leading Cardinals, for their Intereſt and Favour for his Election to the Popedom; and thereupon, after the Death of Pope *Leo* X, he renews his Sollicitations to the Emperor and *French* King, and ſends Doctor *Pace*, his Agent, with good Sums to the Cardinals at *Rome*: but *Adrian* VI. was choſen before the heavy Sollicitor came to the End of his Journey. But then again, after the Death of this *Adrian*, *Woolſey* puts hard for it again, with all that Wooing, Intreaty, and Money could do: but ſuch an ill Planet reigned over his Projects, that he was gulled of his Money, and baffled once again, *Julio de Medicis*, by the Name of *Clement* VII, carrying it clear from him: but, a little to comfort our repulſed Cardinal, upon his earneſt Requeſt, this Pope *Clement* condeſcended that the Legantine Power, which *Adrian* before had granted only for five Years, and ſo from five Years to five Years, ſhould now

be

be conferred on *Woolsey* for Term of Life; whereby he might enjoy a Kind of papal Authority in *England*, which he missed at *Rome*: but this Cordial proved too strong for him to digest, and utterly ruined his Constitution, as by the Series of his Story doth appear.

And now these mighty Endeavours, and Expences for those Promotions, in the Court and Church of *Rome*, to Cardinalships and the Papacy, makes me conceive it not altogether impertinent here to make a little Inquiry, what Countrymen of ours attained those Dignities, and whether the Pains and Cost expended were answered by the Preferment.

I confess not many of our Countrymen have reached those high Dignities of Pope and Cardinal, though always some or other of them have been gaping and aspiring that Way; the Pontifical Chair, and the Steps to it, having been mostly possessed by *Italians*, intimated by that noted Observation in *Italy* itself, That, of the *Romans*, the Priests are the most wicked: And, of the Priests, the lewdest are made Cardinals: and, of the Cardinals, the worst are chosen Popes: But the most famous that sprung up there of the *English* Growth, of both Sorts, take as follows.

Sir Edward Sandys's Europ. Specul. fo. 91.

Pope *Joan* shall lead the Dance, of whom much might be said; but let it suffice here to be known: That all Writers agree her to be *English* by Parentage, though some say she was born at *Mentz* in *Germany*; others that

Pope Joan. Platina in Vita Johan. VIII. Jo. Bale in Vita ejus. Et Godw. Alex. Cook of Pope Joan.

ſhe was born in *England*. When ſhe came to ripe Age, ſhe ran away, in Man's Apparel, with a Monk of *Fulda*, and ſtudied in many famous Academies, both of the *Greeks* and *Latins*, eſpecially *Athens*, where her Paramour died, and then ſhe came to *Rome*, where, in Diſputations and Scholaſtic Exerciſes, ſhe got ſuch a Fame, that after the Death of *Leo* IV. ſhe was elected Pope: which Office ſhe exerciſed two Years, five Months, and three Days, celebrating Maſs, giving Orders, and acting, in all Things, her Part, as a complete Pope, only wanting the Maſculine Gender. But ſo it proved, that in the Time of her Papacy ſhe was gotten with Child, and, going to the *Lateran*, between *Coloſſe's* and St. *Clement's*, ſhe fell in Labour, but, wanting a Midwife, and other Accommodations requiſite in that Caſe, ſhe there died: and, for the Scandal thereof, her Succeſſors, in all their proceſſional Pomps, have ever ſince avoided that Way: and, to prevent the like to come, the Porphyry Chair was deviſed, thus deſcribed by *Sabellicus*: *Spectatur adhuc, in Pontificia Domo, Marmorea Sella, circa Medium Inanis, qua novus Pontifex reſidat, ut ſedentis Genitalia ab ultimo Diacono attrectentur*. A Marble Chair, with a Hole in the Seat, wherein the new Pope ſitting, the junior Deacon may handle his Genitals. This Story of Pope *Joan* the modern Pontificians do not like, though related by all theſe Writers, and who were all *Romaniſts*.

An.Dom. 855.

Contulit ſacros Ordines, promovit Epiſcopos, miniſtravit Sacramenta, cæteraque Rom. Pont. exercuit Munera. Cor. Agrip. deVan. Scient. cap. 62. de Sect. Monaſt. O Lucina, fer opem.

Sabellic. lib. 1. Ænead. 9.

Marianus

Marianus Scotus.
Sigebertus Gemblacensis.
Martinus Polonus.
Sabellicus Mantuanus.
Johan. Parisiensis.
Antoninus Nauclerus.
Fascic. Temp. Author.
Fulgosus.
Theodoric. à Nyem.
Ravisius Textor.
Laonicas Chalcondylas.
Fran. Petrarcha.
Johannes Boccacius.
Ranulph. Cestrensis.
Johan. Lunidus.
Alph. de Cartagena.
Jo. Trithemius. Palmerius.
Volatteranus.
Canstantin. Phrygio.
Christ. Masseus.
Anselm. Rid.
Supplem. Chron. Author.
Chronic. Chronicorum.
Gotefridus Viterbiensis.

And for them all *Platina*, the famous Writer of the Popes Lives, who tells all the Story at large, concluding thus, *Quæ ideo ponere breviter & nude institui, ne obstinate nimium & pertinaciter videar omisisse, quod fere omnes affirmant*; that is, He would not omit the Relation, becauſe almoſt all Men then believed it to be true.

Platina in Vita Johan. VIII.

Adrian IV. An. D. 1154.

Nicholas Breakspear, born at *Langley* near to St. *Alban*'s, in the County of *Hertford*, acquired the Popedom, by the Name of *Adrian* IV. This Man suffered *Frederic* the Emperor to hold his Stirrup as he alighted from his Horse, and then checked him for not shewing himself an expert Groom: and after excommunicates him for standing upon his Right, and writing his Name before the Pope's: but, not therewithal sufficiently revenged, and with his Cardinals conspiring to ruin the Emperor, sending a Counterfeit to stab him, and an *Arabian* to poison him, he was choaked with a Fly that got into his Throat; verifying what he used often to say, *That none can be more unfortunate than to be made a Pope.*

Urban V. An. D. 1362. Tho. Walsingh Hist. fo. 172.

William Grisant, an *Englishman*, obtained the Papacy, by the Name of *Urban* V. Of this Man *Thomas Walsingham* tells this Story, That, waiting long in the Court of *Rome* for Preferment, and none coming, he complained to his Friend, that he verily thought in his Heart, if all the Churches in the World should fall, yet none would fall upon his Head: but, when he was crowned Pope, his Friend remembered him of what he had said, and told him he had now gotten on his Head all the Churches in the World. But the Virtue of them all could not preserve him from Poison, of which he died at *Marseils*, in his Return (as is said) into *Italy*.

Balæus in Vita ejus.

Geffry

Geffry of *Monmouth*, the famous Hiſtorian, is affirmed by ſome to have been a Cardinal: But the very learned Biſhop *Godwin*, in the Lives of the Biſhops of St. *Aſaph*, of which this *Geffry* was one, much doubts it. I think it not worth the While now to examine the Buſineſs, or ſeaſonably to animadvert upon the Fabuloſity of his Hiſtory: only there comes to Mind a Story that *Roger Hoveden* tells of him, how once he was ſlurred both of his Biſhopric of St. *Aſaph*, and the Abbacy of *Abingdon*, when he cunningly deſigned to have held both. The Story is thus: In a Council then held, the Clergy of St. *Aſaph* beſeeched the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, that, out of the Plenitude of his Power, he would command *Geffry*, their Biſhop, to return to his Cure and Charge, or ſend them another in his Stead, for that he had withdrawn himſelf from them; and, being come into *England*, King *Henry* had given him the Abbacy of *Abingdon*, then void: whereupon the Archbiſhop convened *Geffry* before the Council, and injoined him, either preſently to return to his Charge, or to reſign it, and ſtand to Favour: in Hope whereof, he reſigns it into the Hands of the Archbiſhop, by delivering up his Ring and Paſtoral Staff. But the Conſequence was, that thereby he became ſtripped of both; for the King preſently gave the Biſhopric to one *Adam*, a *Welchman*; and the Abbacy to a certain Monk.

Geffry of Monmouth. Pontic. Virun. Ciacon. Magdeburgenſ.

Rog. Hoveden. Pars poſterior Hen. II. fo. 544.

Boſo, An. D. 1155. Balæus.

Boſo, an *Engliſhman*, was, made a Cardinal, of whom nothing is leſt memorable, but that, by his vehement Stickling, he proved mainly inſtrumental in the Election of *Alexander* III. to the Popedom, againſt the ſtrong Factions of *Victor*, *Innocentius*, *Paſchalis*, and *Calixtus*, who all ſtood for the Place: and thereupon came to participate of the alternate Fortunes of his Maſter, in his Bickerings with the Emperor at that Time.

Steph. Langton An. D. 1206. Matt. Paris. Antiquit Brit. in Steph. Langt. Godw. in Vita.

Stephen Langton was created Cardinal of St. *Chryſogon*, and, the Archbiſhopric of *Canterbury* falling void by the Death of *Hubert*, the Monks choſe *Reginald* the Sub-Prior with great Secrecy, and injoined him Silence, till he could get his Confirmation at *Rome*. But he, being big of his Honour, could not forbear Tattling, inſomuch as King *John*, then reigning, dealt with the Monks to elect *John Gray*, Biſhop of *Norwich*; upon which, the two Elects appeal to *Rome*: but the Pope, to end the Strife, put *Stephen Langton*, his Cardinal and Creature, into the Place, whoſe Inſolence promoted, if not occaſioned, all the Miſchiefs that happened in that King's Time, too large to be here ſpecified, but fully related by all Writers of that Time.

Roger Curſon, An. D. 1211. Matt. Paris. Matt. Weſtm. Balæus. Onuphrius.

Roger Curſon, about the Year 1211, was created Cardinal. Of him I find little amiſs, ſpending the moſt of his Time in the Holy War, until, at his Return, he came the Pope's Legate into *England*, as an Inſtrument to promote the intolerable Exactions which the

the Kingdom ſuffered in the Time of King *Henry* III. but he preſently vaniſhed, the Time, Place, or Manner of his Death, being not now to be retrieved.

Robert Somercot, created Cardinal under Pope *Gregory* IX, is charactered to have been a Perſon of very great Merit, and, after the Death of that Pope, ſtood faireſt for the Election; but, the *Italian* Cardinals reſolving to have none but one of their own Country, our *Somercot* was poiſoned in the very Conclave.

Rob. Somercot, An. D. 1231. Ciaconius. Onuphr. M. Paris.

Robert Kilwardby ſat ſix Years Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, and then, for a Cardinalſhip, relinquiſhed his See; and, going into *Italy* to take Poſſeſſion of his new Dignity, within a few Months he died, of Poiſon, at *Viterbium* there. Of this Man there is a memorable Story, implying the Practice of the Popes in making the *Engliſh* Money their Property, and diſpoſing the ſame at their Pleaſure; as alſo his Ingenuity once in ſhifting himſelf neatly out of ſuch an Incumbrance: *William Chillenden*, the Prior of *Canterbury*, had ſpent 1300 Marks about his Election, but the Pope, ſetting him aſide, a little to ſtop his Grumbling, and make him ſome Recompence, promiſed him that the next Archbiſhop ſhould pay him 1300 Marks; which Sum when *Chillenden* came to demand of *Kilwardby*, being the next Comer-in, the Archbiſhop dealt ſeriouſly and plainly with him, and told him, that, if he perſiſted to have the Money, he

R. Kilwardby, A. D. 1278. Godwin in Vita ejus.

Antiquit. Brit. in Vita Kilw, fo. 189.

knew privately ſo much of his Irregularity, that he could, and would, out him of his Priory; at which *Chillenden* was ſo frightened, that he durſt make no further Demand, and ſo the Archbiſhop ſaved his Money.

Hugo d'Eveſh. An. D. 1287.

Hugo de Eveſham, a famous Phyſician, was dignified with a Cardinalſhip by Pope *Martin* IV. after whoſe Death, he, for his Worth and Learning, being juſt at the Point of being choſen Pope, was poiſoned, as *Somercot* had been before him: to colour which, *Ciaconius* ſays he died of the Plague.

Bal. de Script. Brit.

Ciacon.

W. Macclesfield, An. D. 1303.

William Macclesfield, was made Cardinal by Pope *Benedict* XI, but he died four Months before his Cap came; and therefore, when it was brought, it was with great Solemnity ſet upon his Tomb.

W. Winterb. An. D. 1305.

Walter Winterborn was created Cardinal, to ſucceed *Macclesfield*; but enjoyed his Honour a very few Months.

Tho. Joyce. Fratres Prædicatores.

Godw. in Vita Tho. Joyce.

Thomas Joyce preſently ſucceeds *Winterborn*: theſe three laſt were all of the ſame Order: In the Year 1311, this Cardinal, returning from his Negotiation with the Emperor, in *Sabaudia lethalis morba correptus, Vitam terminavit*, as our Author hath it.

Sertor Wallenſ. An. D. 1361.

Sertor, of *Wales*, died in *Italy*, the Fates denying him the Honour, in the Juncture of Time, *ante ſuſceptum Pileum*, as *Macclesfield* did before.

Gri. d'Griſant, An. D. 1366.

Grimoaldus de Griſant, Kinſman of Pope *Urban* V, and by him created Cardinal, died at *Avignon*, but how is not known.

Simon

Simon Langham, first Bishop of *Ely*, and thence translated to *Canterbury*, and at last created a Cardinal: on which Account he went to *Avignon*, and there, as he sat at Dinner, was suddenly snatched away by a *Paralysis*. Sim. Langham An. D. 1376. Antiq. Brit. & Godw. in Vita.

Adam Easton, Cardinal, siding with some other Cardinals in a great Faction between two Anti-Popes, seven of his Comrades were sewed up in Bags, and thrown into the Sea; whilst this *Adam*, degraded and tortured, was thrown into a most loathsome Dungeon, where he lay starving for five Years together: but, upon the Turn of the Times, was afterwards drawn out, and lived a few Years. Adam Easton, An. D. 1385.

Philip Repingdon, Canon, and Abbot of *Leicester*, Chancellor of *Oxford*, Bishop of *Lincoln*, and at last created Cardinal of St. *Nereus*, by Pope *Gregory* XII, became, upon his Promotions, so intolerably terrible and cruel, that he died most hateful, and hated, being towards his latter End generally called *Philip Rampington*. Phil. Reping. An. D. 1408. Acts and Mon. fo. 409.

Henry Beaufort, the rich Cardinal, of whom something before, notwithstanding all his Wealth, died frustrated of the Papacy, and despairing of better Enjoyments in another World. H. Beaufort, An. D. 1426.

Christopher Bambridge, Archbishop of *York*, and then Cardinal, sojourning, and intent on his Office, at *Rome*, was there poisoned by *Rivaldus de Modena*, a Priest, and one of his Domestics. Chr. Bamb. Godw. in Vita. P. Jovius.

Tho. Woolsey, An. D. 1520.

Thomas Woolsey, a Butcher's Son of *Ipswich*, Archbishop of *York*, Chancellor of *England*, Cardinal, and *Legate à Latere*; whose high Spirit, not content with all the Preferment the World could afford, except the very highest, put him upon Wooing, Labouring, and Bribing, at a vast Expence, to obtain the Papacy; in which Attempt he received two notable Repulses, a Brewer's Son, by Name of *Adrian* VI, being preferred before him. Thereupon he applies himself to pope it so in *England*, by Virtue of his *Legatine* Power, that he ran himself into a *Premunire*, and the Displeasure of a terrible and resolute King; and many Articles were framed against him, of which this was one, That he was so audacious, as to round the King in his Ear, and blow upon him, at such Time as he had the foul and contagious Disease of the great Pox broken out in several Places of his Body: but, as he was going towards *London*, under a Guard, to make Answer to his Crimes, in sad Apprehension thereof he died heart-broken with Grief, or Poison, at the Abbey of *Leicester*. *Guicciardin* hath this Note of him: An Example in our Days worthy of Memory, touching the Power which Fortune and Envy have in the Courts of Princes. And it was his Insolence that made *Charles Brandon*, the noble Duke of *Suffolk*, once say, It was never merry in *England* since we had Cardinals amongst us.

Lo. Herb. Hist. Henr. VIII.

Cook 4 Instit. fol. 89.

Guicciardin, Hist. of Italy. fo. 910.

John

John Fisher, Bishop of *Rochester*, having made himself obnoxious to the King's Laws, and Displeasure, by opposing the Supremacy, the Pope, to secure his Life, as conceiving the King would not touch one of such a Character, made him a Cardinal; but the Policy failed, and it rather hastened his Death, for, by that Time his Hat was come to *Calais*, his Head was struck off at *Tower-Hill*.

John Fisher, An. D. 1535. Speed's Chron. in Hen. VIII. Herb. &c.

Reginald Pool, Archbishop of *Canterbury* and Cardinal, being beyond the Seas about the Beginning of the Reformation, wrote a Book for the Pope's Supremacy against the King, and therein incited the Emperor, preparing against the *Turk*, to bend his Forces against his natural Sovereign and native Countrymen, as being worse than *Turks*: This Book, writ by a natural born Subject of the King of *England*, was then adjudged a sufficient overt Act within the 25th Statute of *Edward* III. *de Proditionibus*, and therefore High Treason; and *Pool* was attainted thereupon. But he, keeping out of the Reach of Justice, after the Death of Pope *Paul* III, was just upon Point of being elected Pope; but his own Stupidity, with the Imputation of Incontinency, slurred him of the Dignity. In the Reign of Queen *Mary* he came, over, and what he did, both to the Living, and Dead, our Historians abundantly testify; and that, the next Day after the Queen,

Regin. Pool, An. D. 1536. Sleidan. Com. Charles V.

Cook. Pl. Coron. fo. 14. Brook Treason Tit. 24. Antiq. Brit. in Vita Polii. Act. & Mon. fo. 1774.

Queen, Cardinal *Pool* died: *Et sic exit Papismus in Anglia.*

Peter Petow, Camb. Brit. n Warw.

Peter Petow, made Cardinal, and *Legate à Latere*, by Pope *Paul* III, in the Time of Queen *Mary*, was coming over in Pursuance of his *Legatine* Power: But the wary Queen, suspecting he might act something derogatory to her Regality, forbad his Entrance; which the Cardinal took so to Heart, thal he died presently after.

Will. Allen.

Allen, the last Cardinal *Englishman*, in the Reign of Queen *Elizabeth*, appears a *Herald* before the *Spanish* Armado in 1588, and, by a Book dispersed over *England*, stirs up the Nobles and People to join with the *Spaniard* in Execution of the Pope's Sentence of Deposition of the Queen: But, all coming to nothing, our Cardinal died an Exile at *Rome*. Bishop *Godwin* takes Farewel of him with this Character: He was last of our *English* Cardinals in Time, and worst in Wickedness, deserving not to be reckoned amongst *Englishmen*, as, like another *Herostratus*, to get himself a Name, endeavouring to fire the *English* Church (without Envy be it spoken) the noblest in the World; so that his Memory deserves Oblivion: *Et sic exit Cardinalismus.*

Sp. fo. 1177. B. Carlton's Remembr. 141.

An. D. 1594. God. in Vita.

Several others are reckoned in the Catalogues of *English* Cardinals: but, because it is doubtful, whether some of them were *English*, and others whether ever Cardinals, and little memorable is left of most of them,

them, these already mentioned shall suffice to testify, that the *Italian* Promotions were generally more fatal than fortunate to our Countrymen, and that the Pains and Cost were not recompensed by the Acquist. And so we pass from these highest Dignities on Earth to such celestial Honour as was, and is, to be purchased in the Church of *Rome*.

add Cardinal Howard of the Norfolk family

CHAP.

CHAP. XX.

CANONIZATIONS, &c.

CAnonization, and Sainting of Men, Women, and Boys, was another Way whereby great Sums were often brought unto the Popes. And that was, when any Person lived more austerely or devoutly than ordinary, or was famed for any Miracles pretended to have been done by him, in his Life-Time, or by his Relicks, or at his Tomb, after his Death: or that he died for or in Defence of the Truth, or the Church's Cause: Then, if his surviving Friends or Relations made Application to the Pope, upon Payment of good Sums according to the Abilities and Qualities of the Persons solliciting, for Sentences, Fees, Orders, References, and other Things requisite in such Case, the Party, by a Kind of *Apotheosis*, was made a Saint, and a Place assigned him in the Calendar. Of this Extraction were the famous St. *Cuthbert*, St. *Guthlac*, St. *Dunstan*, St. *William*, St. *Swithin*, St. *Tibba*, St. *Thomas* of *Canterbury*, St. *Thomas* of *Lancaster*, St. *Winifrid*, St. *Hugh*, and infinite more, who, for Money, had their Names put into the Rolls of Glory, and their Fames and Merit celebrated, and were supplicated here on Earth.

I find that great Endeavours were used to have *Robert Grosthead*, the renowned Bishop

of *Lincoln*, ſainted; and particularly King *Edward* I. laboured it by an Expreſs unto the Pope for that Purpoſe: but nothing could prevail, in Regard he had ſo ſignalized himſelf againſt the Corruptions of the Church, and the Times then, when *Becket*, *Anſelm*, *Hugh* of *Lincoln*, and Multitudes were canonized for Money, or ſomething they had done ſignally, and meritorious for the Papacy.

Rot. Rom. An. 34 Ed. I.

But this King had better Succeſs in his Sollicitation to the Pope for the Canonization of *Thomas de Cantelupe*, Biſhop of *Hereford*, then deceaſed, famed for a Multitude of Miracles, as was ſuggeſted. *Thomas Walſingham* abounds in the Celebration of him and his Miracles, but more modeſtly than the Monk of *Weſtminſter*, who aſcribes to him no leſs then 163 Miracles: and others many more, too many in all Conſcience to be believed, or here remembered in particular: But of ſuch Eſteem it ſeems he was, that this King *Edward* I, to obtain the Benefit of his Prayers and Interceſſion in Heaven, for himſelf, and his Realm, according to the Perſuaſions prevailing in thoſe ignorant Times, ſent his Letter of Requeſt to Pope *John* XXII, to have him canonized a Saint; to which the Pope, after ſome Dealing withal for that Purpoſe, was at laſt wrought: But the King's Letter, ſtill preſerved amongſt our Records, and which we conceive may be acceptable to ſome to peruſe, we will take the Liberty to tranſcribe:

Tho. Walſing. in Ed. I. fo. 11.

Matt. Weſt. in Ed. I.

Godw. in Vita ejus.

Sanctiſſimo

Clauſ. 33 Ed. I. m. 3. dorſo. De Tranſlat. S. Thomæ de Hereford.

Sanctiſſimo in Chriſto Patri Domino Divina Providentia Sacroſanctæ Romanæ ac univerſalis Eccleſiæ Summo Pontifici; Edwardus eadem Gratia Rex Angliæ, &c. devota Pedum Oſcula Beatorum. Pium & juſtum eſſe cenſetur, ut ſicut gloriosus Deus, in Sanctis ſuis & in Majeſtate mirabilis, Miniſtros fideles ſuos magnificat, altis decorat Honoribus, & cœleſtis efficit Beatitudinis Poſſeſſores in Cœlis: Sic & Sacroſancta Romana Eccleſia Veſtigia ipſius proſequens, eos ad quorum Memorias ipſe Deus ſuæ Virtutis Potentiam manifeſtat, Signa ac Prodigia faciens pro eiſdem, digno Venerationis Officio laudari, glorificari, & Studiis ſollicitis honorari efficiat in Terris, ut per hoc Fides Catholica roboretur, & idem Altiſſimus qui laudabilis eſt in Secula, glorificetur amplius & laudetur, ac ex hoc Salutis noſtræ Cauſam miſericordius & miſerabilius operari dignetur. Cum itaque Thomas dictus de Cantelupo Eccleſiæ Hereſordenſis Antiſtes, qui nobili exortus Proſapia, dum Carnis clauſus Carcere tenebatur, pauper Spiritu, Mente mitis, Juſtitiam ſitiens, Miſericordiæ deditus, mundus Corde, vere pacificus prout firmiter recolimus nos expertos, utpote cujus apud nos diu, & laudabilis Converſatio & glorioſæ Vitæ Inſignia, ex multa Familiaritate quam nobiſcum habuit eadem fuerunt evidentius nobis nota, quod Sanctitatem & ipſius Converſationem laudabilem cernebamus, quemadmodum degens in Seculo magnis pollebat Meritis; munc veniens in Cœlo, magnis coruſcare Miraculis dignoſcatur, in tantum, quod,

ipſius

ipsius Meritis & Intercessionibus gloriosis, Lumen cæcis, surdis Auditus, Verba mutis, & Gressus claudis, & alia pleraque Beneficia ipsius Patrocinium implorantibus cœlesti Dextera conferuntur: de quorum Miraculorum Coruscatione multiplici nonnullis de Regno nostro certitudinaliter innotescet. Nos attendentes per Dei Gratiam Fideles in Christo, nosque præcipue, & Populum Regni nostri ejus posse Suffragiis adjuvari, ut quem Familiarem habuimus in Terris mereamur habere Patronum in Cœlis: Sanctitati vestræ devotissime supplicamus, quatenus tantam Lucernam absconsam sub Modio remanere diutius non sinentes, set eam mandantes super Candelabrum collocari, his qui sunt in Domo Domini Solatium præbituram, dignemini ipsum ascribere Sanctorum Catalogo venerando, ut ejus Precibus Dominus exoratus Gratiam in præsenti, & Gloriam nobis præbeat in futuro. Conservet vos Altissimus ad Regimen Ecclesiæ suæ per Tempora fœliciter longiora. Dat. apud Westm. secundo Die, Novemb. Anno Regni nostri 33. And upon this, as I said before, he was canonized for a Saint. The Letter itself I have the rather exemplified at large, that you may see upon what Ground the Popish Confidence is founded, and what By-ways have been beaten, in Quest of Heaven.

King *Henry* VII. had a Desire to have had King *Henry* VI, his Predecessor, canonized for a Saint, thereby to acquire some celestial Honour to his own House, and the Line of *Lancaster*: and for that Purpose he dealt with Pope *Julius*, who, knowing that he

Lo. Bacon's Hist. of Hen. VII. fol. 227.

he had an able Chapman in Hand, made his Demands accordingly. Some indeed ſay, that that Pope (who was a little more than ordinary jealous of the Dignity of the See of *Rome*, and of the Acts thereof) knowing that King *Henry* VI. was reputed in the World but for a ſimple Man, was afraid it would diminiſh the Eſtimation of that Kind of Honour, if there was not a Diſtance kept between *Innocents* and *Saints*. But the general Opinion was, that Pope *Julius* was too dear, which the wary King perceiving, having ſomewhat taſted of the Charge, in Expences upon Witneſſes, References, Commiſſions, and Reports for the Verification of his holy Acts and Miracles, (a Thing uſual in the Court of *Rome*, when a good Client comes) thought good to reſerve his Money for ſome better Bargain, and withdrew his Suit betimes: *Et ſic nihil inde venit.*

Lo. Bacon ſupr. Speed's Chron. in Ed. IV. fo. 885.

The Manner of Canonizations, with the ordinary Charges, too long to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be noted, you may find exhibited by Sir *Henry Spelman*, in the ſecond Tome of his excellent Collection of the *Engliſh* Councils.

Sir H. Spelm. Conc. Tom. 7. fol. 717, 718.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXI.

POPE'S LEGATES, COLLECTORS.

IN the foregoing Chapters particular Instances have been given of some of those many and great Sums of Money heretofore going out of *England* to the Pope and Court of *Rome*; with some of the Ways and Means of drawing the same thither: wherein we had Occasion of mentioning the Pope's Legates, Agents, Collectors, and Officers, employed about the Gathering and Transmitting those Sums: of some of whom, it will not, I conceive, be impertinent to revive some Memorials, as tending something to the Amplification of the Particulars before specified.

Pandulfus of these shall be the *Antesignanus*, though not first in Time, yet as most notorious: To him, as the Pope's Substitute, it was, that King *John* was inforced to surrender his Crown, laying the same, his Sceptre, Robe, Sword, and Ring, the royal Ensigns, at his Feet; subscribing to a Charter, whereby he surrendered his Kingdom to the Pope, and paying an annual Pension of 1000 Marks for both the Kingdoms of *England* and *Ireland*, and professing that thenceforward he would hold his

Pandulfus. Matt. Paris. John Serres Hist. in Phil. August. Speed Chron.

Crown and Kingdoms, as a Feudatory to the Pope. But of this Legate, and this Action, enough before, in King *John*'s Pension; from whom we pass to

Nicolas Thusculanus.

Nicolas Thusculanus, who was the next Legate, and came to get the former Grant of King *John* renewed: This Man sped so well in his Negotiation, that he returned to his Master with great Sums of Money: besides having disposed of a Multitude of the spiritual Dignities, and Benefices, to the Pope's Kinsmen, to *Italians*, and Strangers, all absent, unknown, and insufficient, yea, and to some unborn.

Jo. Derlingt.

John Derlington was several Years Collector of *Peter-Pence*, Disms, and other Sums accruing hence, to Pope *John*, *Nicolas* III, and *Martin* III. of whom *Leland* says thus, *Nullo enim Tempore defuerunt suæ Artes Romanis corrodendi Pecunias, relicto religioso Apostoli, Petri, Derlingtonus iniqui Proditoris Judæ permansit in Officio:* to reward which Service of *Derlington*, the Pope, by Provision, made him Archbishop of *Dublin*; wherein, as *John Bale* says, he carried himself, *ut Mercenarius, & non Pastor; non ut pascat, sed ut mulgeat vel tondeat.*

Jo. Leland. Coll.

In An. 7 Ed. I. Bal. de Script. Brit. Cent. IV. c. 56.

Otho Matt. Paris. fo. 446. Acts & Mon. Tom. 1. fo. 260. H. d'Knight. col. fol. 1440.

Otho comes next, who, how received and presented, how he abused the King, pilled the Clergy, and in an intolerable Manner damnified the whole Kingdom, is at large related by *Matthew Paris*, and others: one, *viz.* *Henry de Knighton*, gives him this

this Exit: *Hic cum esset onustus Pecunia, & quædam Statuta edidisset, reversus est ad Locum unde exierat.* Of him we meet with this Passage: Once making an Essay to enter *Scotland*, to see what he could get there; the *Scots* King advised him to beware, for his Subjects were rough Fellows, and certainly would do him a Mischief, when they understood his Errand. Besides, it being a bare Country, he might well be slighted, as once an honest poor Man did the Thieves, which he was told were broken into his House. Let them alone, said he, for they will have much ado to find something in the Dark, when I myself can find nothing in the Light. But, notwithstanding all this Discouragement, on he went as far as he durst, that is, to the Borders, where some of the Bishops of *Scotland* meeting him, partly with good Words, and partly with Menaces, something he got out of them, as I remember, about 3000 *l.* of which no doubt but he gave a good Account. At another Time, this *Otho* came to *Oxford*, where he was entertained with good Respect: and, the Scholars, after Dinner, coming to give him a Visit, the rude Porter at the Gate gave them an uncivil Repulse; which, with throwing scalding Water in one of their Faces, and in Revenge thereof the Death of the Master-Cook, such a Hubbub was raised, that the Legate was glad, for Safe-

Ypod. Neustr. fol. 59. Knighton Coll. 24, 32. Polychron. l. 7. c. 35.

ty, to get into the Steeple, where ſculking, he might hear the Rabble, ranging about, ſearching for him, and crying out, where is that Uſurer, that *Simoniac*, that Pillar, and Poller, and Filcher of our Money, who, perverting the King, and ſubverting the Kingdom, inricheth Strangers with our Spoils. But, in the Dead of the Night, out he creeps, and, with ſome Difficulty, got over the River, running to the King not far off, to whom he tells a pitiful Story, with his Hazards, beſeeching his Protection for thoſe of his Company, in great Danger, left behind. Whereupon the King preſently ſends a Company of armed Men, who apprehended thirty Scholars engaged in the *Riot*, which they carried in Carts to *Wallingford* Caſtle, and thence to *London*; who being brought barefoot to the Legate's Door, upon great Intreaty of the Biſhops, and their penitent Submiſſion, all were pardoned, and the Univerſity releaſed of Interdiction.

Pet. Rubeus.

Petrus Rubeus comes next in Play: for the Underſtanding of whoſe Negotiation and Artifices, I will give you only one Paragraph of *Matthew Paris*, viz. *Per eoſdem Dies, venit in Angliam nova quædam Pecuniæ Exactio, omnibus Sæculis inaudita & execrabilis. Miſit enim Papa, Pater noſter ſanctus, quendam Exactorem in Angliam, Petrum Rubeum; qui, excogitata Muſcipulatione, infinitam Pecuniam a miſeris Anglicis edoctus erat emungere. Intravit*

Matt. Paris in An. 1240. fo. 533. Flor. Hiſt. An. 1240.

travit enim Religiosorum Capitula, cogens & seducens eos ad Porsolvendum, Exemplo aliorum Prælatorum, quos mentitus asserebat gratanter persolvisse: Dixit enim, ille Episcopus, & ille: ille Abbas, & ille jam libens satisfecit: quidnam vos ignavi tam moramini, ut Grates cum Muneribus amittatis? Fecit enim prædictus Impostor jurare, ut hoc Genus Pecuniam extorquendi nulli Hominum infra dimidium Anni facerent manifestum; quasi eliciens hoc ex singulorum primitiva Professione, cum tantum de Honestis Consilium Papale celandum. Hoc faciendo More Prædonum domesticorum, qui Fidem ab Expoliatis extorquent, ut nulli pandant Nomina Spoliantium. Sed etiam si Homines silerent, Lapides Ecclesiarum contra Grassatores Clamorem levarent. Nec potuit hoc Maleficium latere sub Tenebris: quomodo enim possent Prælati à suis & sibi subjectis Pecuniam exigere, nisi Causa Exactionis exprimeretur? To all which, being so plain and notorious, although there needs neither Translation, nor Comment: yet the *English* Reader may please to know the Import of it to be this: That about that Time came into *England* an abominable Way of exacting Money, never heard of before: For our holy Father, the Pope, sent a notable Fellow, *Peter Rubeus*, by Name, who, with a cunning Mouse-trap Trick, wiped the poor *English* of infinite Sums of Money. For he would come among the Ecclesiastics, when they were met together in their Chapters, and per-

An. D. 1240.

ſuade and compel them to promiſe and pay certain Sums, telling them Lyes that many others had given freely: That this Biſhop, and that; this Abbot, and that; had given ſuch and ſuch Sums; and upbraiding them for their Slackneſs. Then the Impoſtor would make them ſwear that they would not diſcover to any one, within Half a Year, what they had given; telling them that was the antient Way of keeping the Pope's Secrets according to their Oath or Promiſe at their firſt Profeſſion: Therein doing like Thieves that extort Oaths from thoſe they rob, not to diſcover their Names. But here, if Men ſhould hold their Peace, the very Stones of the Churches would cry out againſt theſe Robbers, *&c.*

Ruffinus. Mumelinus.

Contemporary with *Rubeus* were *Ruffinus* and *Mumelinus*, who acted their Parts alſo in this Tragedy; and of whom ſomething before.

Stephanus. An. D. 1249.

Stephanus, another of the Pope's Legates took his Turn alſo, to the great Profit of his Maſter, and the univerſal Damage of the Kingdom. For, the Pope being at Difference with the Emperor *Frederic*, this *Stephanus* was ſent to demand and collect the Tenths of all Moveables of all the Clergy and Laity, both in *England*, *Ireland*, and *Wales*: on which Occaſion the Argument was applied, That *Rome*, being the Mother of all Churches, ought to be relieved by her Children, which was done very dutifully at that Time.

Walo

Walo, another *Legate*, muſt not be forgotten, and his Province was to gather Procurations throughout all *England*, of all Cathedrals, Churches, and Religious Houſes, which he managed ſtrenuouſly. Walo.

William de Teſta was another of the Pope's Legates and Collectors; *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and *Thomas Walſingham*, end the Reign of King *Edward* I, with the general Complaints of the Nobles, Commons, and Clergy of *England*, againſt the Grievances and Exactions of this *William de Teſta*, and one *Peter Hiſpan*, the Pope's *Legate à Latere*, in the Parliament held at *Carliſle*. The Petitions and Addreſs to the King, for Remedy of thoſe Grievances, are very remarkable, ſtill preſerved amongſt our Records, and lately exhibited to public View. W. de Teſta. Flor. Hiſt. An. 1307. Tho. Walſin. fo. 64. Ypod. Neuſt. 97, 98. Ryley Placit. Parliamentaria, fo. 376, 377.

Albertus, *Alexander*, *Johannes Anglicus*, *Johannes de Diva*, *Ferentinus*, *Martinus*, *Ruſtandus*, *Petrus Enguelbank*, *Gaſper Pons*, *Polydore Virgil*, and a Multitude more, might here be remembered; but, our Hiſtories being generally fraught with their Acts and Devices, the Curious are referred thither for more Satisfaction, if they pleaſe. Albertus, &c.

Beſides theſe *Legates*, Collectors, and Factors, there was another Sort of Men came over into *England* much inſtrumental in Improving and Tranſmitting the Pope's Monies: And theſe were called *Caurſins* and *Lombards*: *Italians* by Country, and terming themſelves the Pope's Merchants: theſe drove the Trade of letting out of Caurſins. Lombards. An. D. 1235. Matt. Paris in Hen. III. fo. 417.

Money, of which they had great Banks, and were esteemed far more severe and mercilefs than the *Jews*. *Matthew Paris* gives this Etymology of the Name *Caursini*, *quasi Capientes*, & *Ursini*, becauſe they worried Men like Bears.

Now, becauſe the Pope's *Legates*, and Collectors, were all for ready Money, when any Sum by Levy, Firſt-fruits, Tenths, Diſpenſations, &c. became due and payable to the Pope, by any Prelate, Convent, Prieſt, or Lay Perſon, theſe *Caurſins* would furniſh them with preſent Caſh, upon their entering into ſome ſolemn Bond, or Obligation, as Security for ſo much Money lent; the Form of which Bond, or Obligation, in *Engliſh*, was as followeth: To all that ſhall ſee this preſent Writing, *Thomas* the Prior, and the Convent of *Barnwell*, Greeting, &c. Know ye that we have borrowed and received at *London*, for ourſelves, and profitably to be expended for the Affairs of us and our Houſe, from *Franciſco* and *Gregorio*, for them and their Partners, Citizens and Merchants of *Milan*, one hundred and four Marks, 13*s*. 4*d*. of lawful Money, Sterling, being counted to every Mark. Which ſaid one hundred and four Marks we promiſe to repay at the Feaſt of St. *Peter ad Vincula* at the new Temple in *London*, *An. D.* 1235. And, if the ſaid Money be not fully paid at the ſaid Time and Place, we bind ourſelves to pay to the ſaid Merchants, or to any one of them, or their

certain

certain Attorney, for every ten Marks forborne two Months, one Mark for Damages, by Reason of Non-payment, with the Expences of one Merchant with his Horse and Man, till the Money be all paid. And, for Payment of the Principal, Interest, Damages, and Expences, we oblige ourselves, our Church, and Successors, and all our Goods, and the Goods of our Church moveable and immoveable, ecclesiastical, or temporal, which we have, or shall have, wheresoever they shall be found, to the said Merchants and their Heirs. And do recognise and acknowledge, that we possess and hold the said Goods from the said Merchants by Way of Courtesy only until the said Money be fully paid. And we renounce, for ourselves and Successors, all Aid of Canon and Civil Law, all Privileges, and Clerkship, the Epistle of St. *Adrian*, all Customs, Statutes, Letters, Indulgences, Privileges obtained for the King of *England* from the See Apostolic: as also we renounce the Benefit of all Appeals, or Injunctions, with all other Exceptions real or personal which may be excepted against the Validity of this Instrument. All which we promise faithfully to observe. In Witness whereof we have hereunto set the Seal of our Convent. Dated at *London*, *Die quinto Elphegi*, in the Year of Grace 1235. Fest. S. Elph. April 19.

You see by this how sure and firm they made their Security; and then the Severity of these *Caursins* oftentimes constrained their

Debtors

Debtors to ſell even their Chalices, and Church Plate, to diſcharge theſe Obligatons, and ſecure the reſt of their Goods; for which they became ſo hated, and obnoxious, that *Roger*, Biſhop of *London*, once excommunicated them for their wicked Oppreſſions; but then, they appealing to their good Friend the Pope, he interpoſed, and cauſed the Biſhop to deſiſt. A Street in *London*, from their Meeting and Reſiding there, then acquired, and to this Day retains, the Name of *Lombard-ſtreet*, *quaſi*, Banker-ſtreet, On the Fall of the Pope's Revenues here, theſe *Caurſins* packed up, and tranſplanted themſelves into other Countries.

Stow's Survey of London, ſo. 217.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXII.

Complaints of the People.

WHat Senſe the People had of all theſe Grievances, Burdens, and Extortions, and what Complaints they made upon the ſame, if I ſhould go about to exemplify, out of our Records, and the Hiſtorians who have delivered them amply, and at large, it would be infinite, and far exceed our deſigned Limits. Nay, many learned *Romaniſts* themſelves, as *Cl. Eſpencæus*, *Marſilius* of *Padua*, *Nic. Clemanges*, *Theodoric de Nyem*, *Æneas Sylvius*, *Mantuan*, and a Multitude more, have with open Mouths cried out againſt the Avarice and Exactions of the Popes and Court of *Rome:* one of them ſaying, That *Rome*, being at firſt founded by Robbers, doth yet retain her firſt Original; and that it is called *Roma*, *quaſi rodens Manus*; and this Rhyme thereupon made,

Roma Manus rodit, quos rodere non valet, odit. Johan. Andreas.

And this,

Dantes cuſtodit, non dantes ſpernit, & odit.

And

Matt. Paris in Hen. III.

And *Germanus*, Archbishop of *Constantinople*, once signified to the Cardinals at *Rome*, That the *Grecians* were much scandalised, and stumbled at this, That the Cardinals desired to be accounted his Disciples who said, *Silver and Gold have I none*, when they were altogether intent upon Gathering of Silver and Gold.

Impres. Paris. An. D. 1520.

Petrarch, in an Epistle of his, saith, That the grim Porter is appeased with Gold; that Heaven is opened with Gold, and *Christ* himself sold for Money. And, for the Prices and Rates, there is a notorious Book, styled *Taxa Cameræ Apostolicæ*, specifying what may be had at *Rome* for Money, and for how much.

An. 21 Ed. III. An. 40 Ed. III. Rot. Parl.

For ourselves, what a Multitude of Complaints do we meet withal, made in and by Parliaments in the Reigns of King *Hen.* III, *Edw.* I, *Edw.* III, and of other Kings of all these Grievances and Mischiefs, all preserved upon the Rolls, as so many Scars of the Wounds, which that Way our Ancestors received from *Rome*. And what Advices the Parliaments gave to our Kings, in that Case, our Records abundantly testify.

Rot. Parl. 18 Ed. III.

Anno 18. *Edw.* III, the Commons find great Fault with Provisions coming from *Rome*, whereby Strangers enjoyed the best Dignities and Benefices, causing Decay of Hospitality, Transporting the Treasure of the Land to the King's Enemies, the Discovering the Secrets of the Realm, with many other Mischiefs and Inconveniencies; humbly beseeching

ſeeching the King, and Nobles, to find ſome Remedy: whereupon, by common Conſent, the Act of Proviſion was made, to remedy thoſe Miſchiefs, as by the Act at large it doth appear.

The Tranſactions in Parliament held at *Carliſle* are very memorable to this Purpoſe, conſiſting of Petitions to the King for ſome Relief in theſe Grievances, which produced a Letter, or Remonſtrance, of all the Papal Oppreſſions and Exactions, drawn up in the Name of the King, Nobles, and Commons of *England*, and ſent to Pope *Clement* by ſpecial Meſſengers, all ſtill preſerved amongſt our *Tower* Records, and lately publiſhed to the World.

Ryley Placit. Parliament. fo. 376, &c.

A Multitude more of Petitions, Remonſtrances, Orders, Ordinances, and Statutes, to the ſame Purpoſe, might here be amaſſed, againſt the Pope, and the intolerable Exactions and Extortions of his Legates, Nuncio's, and Collectors: but, to avoid Tedioufneſs, I refer the Reader to that excellent Abridgement of the *Tower* Records from King *Edward* II. to King *Richard* II. by Sir *Robert Cotton*, lately printed, where moſt plentiful Satisfaction may be had.

Sir Rob. Cotton's Records. Impreſ. An. 1657. vid. ib. 50 Ed. III. fo. 128.

Hitherto of public Complaints; now, for thoſe of particular Perſons, I cannot omit that of *Robert Groſthead*, the devout and famous Biſhop of *Lincoln*; who, obſerving the miſerable Burdens endured by his Country from theſe *Romiſh* Exactions, took the Boldneſs to write a Letter thereof to Pope *Inno-*

Matt. Paris in Hen. III. An. 1253. fo. 870.

cent IV, exemplified at large by *Matthew Paris*, expoſtulating with him to this Purpoſe: That, by his Exactions and Inſtruments with *non obſtante*, he brought on this Nation a *Noah*'s Flood of Miſchiefs, whereby the Purity of the Church was defiled, and the Common-wealth perturbed: That, by his Reſervations, Commendam's and Proviſions of Benefices for ſuch Perſons as ſought to fleece, and not to feed the Flock of God, he committed a Sin, than which none was at any Time more hateful to God, or deſtructive unto Man, except that of *Lucifer*; nor ever will be, but the Sin of *Antichriſt*. He ſignified farther, that no Man could, with a good Conſcience, obey the Mandates he had ſent, though they came from the higheſt Order of Angels; for they tended not to the Edification, but the utter Ruin of the Church; with much more to the like Purpoſe. At all which the Pope was ſo galled, that he exclaimed againſt him thus: What means this old Dotard, this deaf abſurd Man, thus to arraign our Actions? By *Peter* and *Paul*, I could find in my Heart to make him a dreadful Example to all the World: Is not the King of *England* our Vaſſal, and both he, and his, at our Pleaſure? But ſome of the more temperate Cardinals endeavoured to allay the Pope's Heat, telling him the Biſhop had ſaid nothing, but what they all knew to be true, and that it would not be Diſcretion to meddle with a Perſon of his Piety, Worth, and Fame; whereupon all was ſmothered,

Ut enim vera fateamur, vera ſunt quæ dicit. Mat. Paris. ſupr.

and

and no more Words made of it. But, for that notable Epiſtle itſelf, I have been credibly told, that it is inrolled, *in perpetuam Rei Memoriam*, in the Red Book, in the King's *Exchequer* at *Weſtminſter*, with this Marginal Note, *Papa Antichriſtus*. And there is a very memorable Epiſtle of *Petrus Caſſiodorus*, a noble *Italian* Knight, written to the *Engliſh* Church about the twenty-ninth Year of King *Edward* I. exhorting them to caſt off the *Romiſh* Yoke of Tyranny, Oppreſſion, and Exaction; formerly preſerved in Manuſcript in St. *Alban*'s Monaſtery, but ſince made public; too large to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be peruſed.

Jo. Bal. de Rom. Pont. Act. lib. 6. Acts & Mon. vol. 1. fo. 460.

The Poets alſo, according to the Scantling of the Wit of thoſe Times, ſpared not to ſatyriſe upon theſe intolerable Exactions of the Popes, one whereof made this Diſtich:

Roma capit Marcas, Burſas exhaurit, & Arcas:
Ut tibi tu parcas, fuge Papas & Patriarchas.

Antiquit. Brit. An. 1337.

Rome drains all Bags, all Cheſts, and Burſes,
Of all their Pounds and Marks:
If therefore you would ſave your Purſes,
Fly Popes and Patriarchs.

It is alſo obſervable, upon theſe Incroachments and Extortions, how ſometimes our Kings would deſpond, and tamely ſuffer the

Popes

Popes and their Legates to grow upon them; and at other Times rouſe up themſelves, and give ſome Check to their Inſolences: as King *Henry* III, though an eaſy Man, yet was once ſo inraged againſt *Rubeus*, that he bad him be gone out of his Kingdom in the Devil's Name. And, as theſe Exactions were at the Height in that King's Time, yet his Succeſſors did not always ſuffer them ſo to continue, being forced to ſet ſome Bounds to thoſe avaricious Torrents by the Statutes of Proviſors and Premunire; and oftentimes to give ſtout Denials to unreaſonable Demands, as the *Engliſh* Clergy themſelves, at laſt, adventured to do, in the Years 1515 and 1518.

Pol. Virgil. Hiſt. in Rich. II. lib. 20.

Lo. Herb. Hen. VIII. fo. 57, 59.

And it is alſo obſervable, that Queen *Mary*, though moſt zealous for the Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*, yet, in Reſtoring the Pope's Supremacy, ſhe and the State were very cautious, like thoſe whom others Harms had made to beware; and ſome prudent Proviſions were made in that Behalf: neither were the Statutes of *Premunire* repealed in all her Reign; but the Pope's Supremacy was reſtored, not *ſimpliciter*, but *ſecundum quid*, as bounded within ſome legal Limitations. But her Reign was ſhort, and not pleaſant; and the Pope wanted Time to work her for his Purpoſe, for, having got his Head in, he did not doubt, but, by Degrees, to thruſt in his whole Body: for it is ever obſervable, that in the Papal Concerns there is no Moderation, for they muſt have all, or nothing, let their Pre-

Stat. 1 and 2. Phil. and Mar. cap. 8.

Coke 3. Inſtit. cap. 4. fo. 127.

tences,

tences, and Promiſes, at firſt Admiſſion, be whatever they will. And, whatever Prince, or State, ſhall once admit of any Papal Authority within their Dominions, their Deſtiny may eaſily be read, that they, and their People, muſt for ever after be Slaves, or if they once begin to boggle, or kick, the Caſuiſts have legitimated many Ways to rid them out of the World, for the Advancement of the Catholic Cauſe, and the Propagation of the *Romiſh* Faith.

Now, after this imperfect Account given of the Rents and Revenues of the Popes, heretofore iſſuing out of this Kingdom, if any one ſhall deſire to have ſome Eſtimate made of the Sums, I muſt profeſs it beyond the Reach of my Arithmetic, and, when I ſee any Accountant do it, *Erit mihi magnus Apollo.* Yet this is certain, that they were very vaſt: Otherwiſe there was no Ground for that Complaint, which was made by the Kingdom's Repreſentative in the Reign of King *Edward* III, That the Pope's Collector held a Receipt, or Audit, equal to a Prince. Or for that which King *John* wrote to the Pope in his Time, That this Kingdom yielded him more Profits, than all the other Countries on this Side the *Alps.* Or for that Boaſt of the Pope, *Vere, inquit Papa, Hortus noſter Deliciarum eſt Anglia, vere Puteus eſt inexhauſtus: Et, ubi multa abundant, de multis multa ſumere licet.* Or for the Computation made in the Time of King *Henry* III, *Repertus eſt annuus Redditus Papæ talis, quem ne Re-*

Rot. Parl. 50. Edw. III. nu. 105. Mat. Paris. 224.

Id. 224.

Antiq. Brit. fo. 178.

gius quidem attigit: That the Pope's Rents exceeded the Crown Revenues. Or the Remonſtrance to the ſame Purpoſe from the whole Kingdom to Pope *Innocent* IV, in the Year 1245, exhibited by *Matthew Paris*, *Fox*, and others, too long to be here inſerted, but moſt worthy to be read, and the Import thereof thoroughly underſtood. Nay we may well judge the Pope's Incomes o exceed all Account, when it appears, that, notwithſtanding ſome notable Proviſions of State to the Contrary, the Pope's *Intrado* ſhould yet carry ſo vaſt a Proportion, that, in the Parliament held in the twenty-third Year of King *Henry* VIII, it was computed, that the Papacy had received out of *England*, for the Inveſtitures of Biſhops only, ſince the ſecond Year of King *Henry* VII, not much above forty Years, 160,000 l. Sterling; an incredible Sum, conſidering the Scarcity and Value of Silver at that Time, and the Laws againſt ſuch Exportations. And the Sums going to *Rome* muſt needs be infinite, when a Statute, prohibiting the Payment of any Impoſitions to the Biſhop of *Rome*, and enumerating ſome of the Ways whereby the ſame were exacted and raiſed, concludes thoſe Ways and Means to have been infinite.

Matt. Paris. fo. 666. 698. Act. & Mon. Tom. 1.

Lo. Herb. Hiſt. Hen. VIII. fo. 330.

Stat. 25. Hen. VIII. cap. 21.

But it is not more difficult to give a perfect Account of all the Sums, than it is eaſy to apprehend and underſtand the malevolent Influence that all this had upon the Kingdom: when it is moſt evident, that our Kings were thereby continually affronted, vexed,

vexed, and debaſed: The Rights of all Perſons injuriouſly invaded, and uſurped upon: The Coin and Treaſure of the Nation continually drained out: The Secrets of the Kingdom diſcovered: All Arts, Learning, and Trading diſcouraged: The whole Nation weakened, and reduced to a State of Poverty and Slavery to Strangers, and laid open and naked to the Invaſion of all Enemies. All which we have tranſmitted to us by unqueſtionable Authorities, the Rolls and Records of Parliaments, Statutes, and the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times, generally *Romaniſts*, not ſparing to ſpeak out, though ſo much reflecting upon their holy Father the Pope, chuſing rather to diſcover the Truth, than conceal their Father's Shame.

CHAP. XXIII.

MATTHEW PARIS VINDICATED.

OF the Hiſtorians which we have made Uſe of in theſe Diſcoveries and Collections, you ſee we have been much beholden to *Matthew Paris*, who ſeldom ſpares to cry out, with great Reſolution, upon the Corruption of the Church in his Time, and particularly upon the cruel Exactions and Extortions of the Popes and their Creatures; who biting ſo hard upon this Sore, I find the Cardinals, *Bellarmine* and *Baronius*, endeavouring to looſen his Teeth. *Bellarmine* ſpeaks of him thus: *Hæc Hiſtoria multa habet ſcitu digna, præſertim de Rebus Eccleſiaſticis, de Concilio, Lugdunenſi, de Diſſidio inter Eccleſiam & Imperium. Sed, quoniam edita eſt ab Hæreticis Tigurinis, caute legenda eſt: non pauca enim leguntur tum in ipſo Libro, tum in Notis Marginalibus, quæ videntur addita ab Hæreticis, ad Invidiam conflandam Romanæ Eccleſiæ, i. e.* This Hiſtory hath many Things worthy to be known, chiefly touching Eccleſiaſtical Affairs, the Council of *Lyons*, and the Difference between the Church and the Empire: But, inaſmuch as it is now publiſhed by the *Tigurine* Heretics, it is to be warily read; for there are not a few Things, as well in the Book itſelf, as in the Marginal Notes, which ſeem to have been

Bell. de Script. Eccl. in M. Paris. fo. 248.

been added by Heretics, to throw Envy on the *Romish* Church. And then *Baronius*, thus: *Matthew Paris Historicus Anglicus, à quo si quis demat Calumnias, Invectivas, Dicacitates, & Blasphemias in Sedem Apostolicam ejusque Pontifices (nisi Probra illa fuerint Additamenta potius ejus qui primus edidit, hæretici Hominis; cum peculiare sit illis, Libros, quos potuerint, depravare) aureum sane dixerit Commentarium*, i. e. *Matthew Paris*, the *English* Historian, whose Calumnies Invectives, twattling Malapertness, and Blasphemies, against the See Apostolic and the Popes, if any one lay aside (unless those Reproaches were rather the Additions of some Heretic that first published him, as it is peculiar to such to deprave all the Books they can) he might esteem it a golden Commentary. Which Aspersions upon the Credit of our Historian induce me to make a little Inquiry into his Quality and Reputation: and that the rather, in Regard I find two of our own Countrymen endeavouring also to throw some Blots upon his Credit, *viz. John Pitz*, a Collector of our *English* Writers, insinuating his Discoveries of the Corruptions of the Church in his Time, *non ab ipso sic scripta, sed ab aliis illi falso ascripta fuisse*; and *Brian Twine*, the *Oxford* Advocate, suspecting the Fidelity of Archbishop *Parker*, in his Edition of *Matthew Paris*.

Baron. Annal. An. Ch. 996.

Jo. Pitz. de Script. Angl. Æt. 13. 367.

Brian Twine de Antiq. Oxon lib. 3. fol. 283.

For what the *Romanists* say against our Historian, it imports no more than a light Suspicion only, that something was added

by the first Editor, and nothing affirmed directly; or, if it were, it would soon vanish, upon this Consideration, that what *Matthew Paris* writes stands justified, not only by all the authentic and uncontroulable Records, but also by the Concurrence of all the Historians of that Age, (besides what we shall presently hear in Vindication of our Editions more directly:) And, first, premising that *Matthew* was a *Benedictine* Monk of St. *Alban*'s, a Servant and Favourite of King *Henry* III. in whose Time he lived, and at whose Instance he compiled his History; employed by Pope *Innocent* IV, not only to visit the Monks in the Diocese of *Norwich*, but also sent to reform a Convent in *Norway* much corrupted: Let us then see what Testimonies are given of him.

Eadmerus lib. 2. Malmsb. lib. 2 fol. 136. Nubrigens. lib. 1. cap. 10.

Leland thus: *Domum reversus assidue, quemadmodum & ante fecit, Studiis vacabat, ac doctos Viros, quotquot tunc Temporis in Britannia claruerent, impensissime coluit, unde variam sibi multarum Rerum Cognitionem pariebat. Quid dixi, sibi pariebat? immo Patriæ potius, & Posteritati.*

Jo. Leland. Tom. 4. fol. 207.

John Bale, to the same Purpose, and farther, giving an Account of his Histories: *In quibus*, says he, *quorundam Romanorum Pontificum Avaritias, Fraudes, Mendacia, Dolos, Pompas, Impudentias, Tyrannides, & Artes pessimas ita depinxit, ut nunquam ullus Apelles melius.*

Jo. Balæus de Script. Brit. cent. 4. n. 26.

The *Centuriators* of *Magdeburg* give him this Character: *Vir imprimis eruditus fuit, qui & singulari Fide & Dexteritate Historiam Anglorum*

Cent. Æt. 13. cap. 10.

Anglorum conſcripſit; proceeding in the Words of *Bale* before.

Flaccius Illyricus, ſpeaking of his Hiſtory, ſaith thus: *In eo Opere valde multa narrat de graviſſima Papæ Tyrannide, qui miris Artibus omnia Eccleſiæ Jura ad ſe rapuerit, imo & quam multiplicibus Artibus Angliam penitus ſit deprædatus, expilaverit, & exſuxerit.* Catalog. Teſt. lib. 1 6.

The learned *Iſaac Caſaubon*, without Queſtion, for good Reaſon, breaks out thus: *Quis neſcit ſanctiſſimam Paparum Authoritatem dudum verſam eſſe in horribilem Tyrannidem? Jam elapſa ſunt multa Secula cum omnes boni hoc vident & gemunt. Unus Matthæus Paris Probationi ejus Rei ſatis ſuperque fuerit.* Iſ. Caſaubon. Epiſt. ad. Carier. Ep. 1.

And, in another Epiſtle of his, he defends *Matthew Paris* againſt the falſe Accuſations of *Coifetellus* drawn from that of *Bellarmine* and *Baronius* before: adding, that his own Eyes, comparing the Prints with the extant Manuſcripts, ſufficiently confuted their Slanders, as vain, ridiculous, and falſe, in Regard he found no Variance at all between them, eſpecially in that which concerns the Pope's Rapines; and thereupon he concludes thus: *Quare falſiſſima eſt Baronii & Bellarmini Conjectura.* Epiſt. 99. Proleg. ad Ex. Baronian.

The modeſt and learned *Gerard John Voſſius*, on whoſe Credit much may be taken up, of our Hiſtorian ſaith thus: *Hiſtoria Matthæi Paris Cantabrigiæ adſervatur in Collegio S. Benedicti, uti & in Bibliotheca Baronis de Lumleio; ac primum Londini, poſt Tiguri,* Ger. Voſſ. de Hiſt. Latinis lib. 2. cap. 58.

Typis divulgata fuit; atque id Fide bona, ut Manuſcripti, quos dixi, Codices cuivis Fidem fecerint: and then he takes Notice of that invidious Aſperſion of *Twine*; who being an *Oxford* Man, it ſeems he was never ſo happy as to ſee that incomparable Treaſure of Antiquities in *Benet* College Library in *Cambridge*, congeſted by that moſt worthy Prelate; where his own Eyes might have confuted the Slander of his Pen.

Deg. Whear, de Method. legend. Hiſt. ſect. 29.

Degoreus Whear, in his excellent *Methodus, &c.* ranks our Hiſtorian amongſt the reſt thus: *His etiam adnectat veram illam & fidelem Matthæi Pariſienſis Hiſtoriam.*

An. D. 1640. Londini.

Laſtly, Dr. *W. Watts*, a very good Antiquary and Hiſtorian, puts forth *Matthew Paris* again, in an excellent Equipage, and with all Attendants befitting his Merit; having firſt compared the former *London* Edition of Archbiſhop *Parker* with all the Manuſcripts extant, and then printing this *Verbatim* with the former, as not finding that differing at all from the Manuſcripts. One whereof, remaining in the King's Library at St. *James*'s, and which *Iſaac Caſaubon* examined, and had ſome Time in his Keeping, is taken to be the very authentic Αὐτόγραφον of the Author, written with his own Hand, and heretofore kept in the Monaſtery Library of St. *Alban*'s.

Proleg. ut ſupr.

Then, for the Aſperſion of *Twine*, it is, without all Doubt, as falſe and frivolous, as it is unworthy; proceeding chiefly from his Inveterateneſs againſt the moſt eminent Univerſity of *Cambridge*, which it ſeems he could

could not vent, without endeavouring to blaſt the Memory of a moſt reverend, learned, and faithful Prelate, whoſe great Integrity and Fame will ever ſtand impenetrable to the Teeth of this angry Nibbler.

Thus, having ſet our honeſt Author *rectus in Curia*, upon the Teſtimonies of ſo many creditable Witneſſes, we may well conclude, That the Times, the Popes, and the Court of *Rome* were corrupted, and not the Hiſtorian: and that what we have of *Matthew Paris* is but the Eccho of the People's Complaints and Groans, in thoſe Times, which ſounding ſo harſh in the *Romaniſts'* Ears, it is no Wonder they are ſo diſpleaſed to hear it.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXIV.

ABBIES, MONASTERIES, &c.

HItherto our Collections have reached only to mention, or point at ſuch Sums of Money as heretofore went out of *England* to the Popes and Court of *Rome*, whilſt they exerciſed any Power here. Now, if I ſhould proceed to ſpecify the other vaſt Sums of Money, as yearly, nay daily, iſſued out of the King's public *Exchequer*, and the People's private Purſes, upon the Score of Popery, and as appurtenant thereunto, ſpent and expended within the Kingdom, to vain, inſignificant, and ſuperſtitious Purpoſes; I ſhould tire my Reader with Multitudes of Particulars, and yet ſhame myſelf, in falling ſo infinitely ſhort of ſuch an Account as Truth would make: And therefore I ſhall only hint briefly at ſome Heads or Generals of the ſame.

Vid. Speed's Catalogues.

In the firſt Place then, the Founding and Endowing of a Multitude of Abbies, Monaſteries, Nunneries, Chanteries, Free-Chapels, and Colleges, within the Realm; and thoſe generally with the beſt Lands and Revenues; exhauſted and ſwallowed up many fair Eſtates, diverting them from the right Heirs, to the Ruin or Decay of many noble Houſes and Families.

Then

Then the Votaries that entered into these Abbies, Monasteries, and Nunneries, always carried their Portions and Estates along with them: and by themselves, or their Friends, gave either Lands, Goods, Plate, Jewels, Copes, Vestments, or some other Ornament, at their first Admittance into one of the Convents: as many *English* do, at this Day, upon their Entrance into Religious Houses, and Orders, beyond the Seas.

These Houses were also wonderfully inriched by the Burials of great Persons in them: For, in this Matter of Sepulture, Monasteries and Abbies were always preferred greatly, before all other Churches, upon the Estimation of the Sanctity of those Places, and a Presumption that their Souls in Purgatory should have some Benefit by the Prayers of the Professed there: with this farther Confidence, that such as were buried in Friars' Habits should have wonderful Advantages thereby: For which Purpose, it is said that King *John* was buried at *Worcester* in a Monk's Cowl. And Mr. *Dugdale* makes Mention of some of the honourable Family of the *Hastings*, that lie buried in the *Grey Friars*, at *Coventry*, in the very Habits of Friars *Minors*: Proceeding, that this Order of Friars was so much reverenced by the Generality of People, that, by the Bequests and Testaments of most Men and Women of Ability, it appears that formerly they seldom neglected to give more,

Weaver's Fun. Mon. fol. 158.

Sir Richard Baker in King John. Dugdal. Ant. Warw. fol. 115.

more, or leſs, to one or other religious Houſe of this Rule: and, if they were Perſons of Quality, they commonly made Choice of their Sepulture in one of them. Neither was it the leaſt Policy of theſe Friars to obtain from great Perſons ſuch a Diſpoſal of their Bodies, conſidering how they were generally employed and truſted in making their Wills and Teſtaments: for, wherever they ſped in that Kind, they were ſure to have a good Legacy from the Teſtator, and not without Hope, by ſo fair an Example, to obtain no leſs Advantage by his Poſterity.

Tho. Walſing. in Ed. I. fo. 20.

Thomas Walſingham, ſpeaking of the Burial of Queen *Eleanor*'s Heart in the Church of the Friars *Minors* in *London*, did not without Cauſe complain thus of them: *Qui* (meaning the ſaid Friars) *ſicuti & cuncti Fratres reliquorum Ordinum, aliquid de Corporibus quorumcunque potentium Morientium ſibimet vendicabant, More Canum Cadaveribus aſſiſtentium, ubi quiſque ſuam Particulam avide conſumendam expectat*: i. e. Theſe, as all the Friars of the like Orders, challenged ſomething as their Due from the Bodies of great Men dying, like a Company of Dogs ſnatching every one at a Piece of a dead Carcaſe: Thus *Walſingham*, being a Monk, out of Envy, ſpared not to ſnarl at the nimble Friars, who, no doubt, but ſome Time or other would be even with him, and thoſe of his Order.

Then theſe profeſſed Monks and Friars, upon their Viſiting and Confeſſing of the Sick,

Sick, always uſed the moſt perſuaſive Arguments they could, for the Sick Perſon to beſtow ſomething toward Maintenance of their Fraternities, or Repairing of their Convents: and that he would bequeath his Body to be buried in the Church of their Convent, promiſing they would daily ſay Prayers and Maſſes, for his Soul's Eaſe in, and Releaſe out of Purgatory. And, by Confeſſing ſuch as were in Health, they frequently injoined ſuch Penances, as made to the Prejudice of the Sinner's Purſe, but their own Profit.

Of the Exorbitances of theſe cloiſtered Monks and Friars, many Examples might be produced, as of their Ribaldry, Lechery, Quarrelling, Fighting, Idleneſs, Cheating, Thieving, Debauchery, Gluttony, *&c.* all maintained by the People's Money; but we will here content ourſelves with one Inſtance only: King *Edward* I, about the latter End of his Reign, having collected a vaſt Sum of Money to carry on his War againſt the *Scots*, and laid it up in his Treaſury at *Weſtminſter*, his Treaſury was broken up in the Night, and one hundred thouſand Pounds in Money, beſides Plate and Jewels, ſtolen out of it, by the Abbot and Monks of *Weſtminſter*, and their Confederates; whereof eight and forty Monks, with the Abbot, were apprehended, and ſent Priſoners to the *Tower*; and, by Inquiſitions and Examination of Witneſſes, it appeared that divers of the Monks, and other

Cook 4 Inſtit. c. 11. fo. 112.

Pat. 31. Ed. I. m. 23. dorſ. De inquirend. de Theſaurario Regis fracto.

other Perſons, in the Night Time, were ſeen often paſſing to and from the King's Treaſury, and the Abbey, carrying Bundles in their Arms and Laps; and that they conveyed away, by Water, great Hampers that were very heavy; and ſome Part of the King's Plate and Jewels were found, and ſeized in *London*, and other Places: upon which the Monks were long detained in Priſon, till afterwards releaſed by the King's ſpecial Command, when he repaired to *Weſtminſter* to give Thanks to God, for his Victories over the *Scots*.

Matt. Weſtm. An. 1303.

Matthew of *Weſtminſter*, a Monk of that Abbey, minceth the Story of the Robbery of the King's Treaſury, in Favour of the Monks, and ſays that only ten of them were impriſoned; when it appears, by the Record, that forty-eight of them, with the Abbot, were impriſoned and indicted for it. And upon this Occaſion it was, that the Court of *Exchequer*, ſometimes called the *Novel Exchequer*, was new-built.

Cook ut ſupra.

Chanteries, Free-Chapels, and Colleges, as they were inſtituted and employed, ſpent and exhauſted vaſt Sums of Money and Revenues, the Purpoſes of which Expence will appear in the brief Deſcription of the Nature of thoſe Foundations.

Chantery.

A Chantery (ſo called *à Cantando*) was a Chapel (commonly annexed to ſome Parochial, collegiate, or cathedral Church) endowed with Lands, or ſome other yearly Revenues, for the Maintenance of one or more

more Priests, daily to sing Masses, for the Souls of the Donors, or Founders, and such others as they did appoint. Now the exact Number of all these in *England* cannot be known, for they are very numerous: but, if a Mathematician measured *Hercules* by his Foot, a probable Conjecture may be made of them from those which were founded in the Cathedral of St. *Paul* in *London*; for, in the second Year of King *Edward* VI, a Certificate was returned by the Dean and Chapter of St. *Paul*'s to the King's Commissioners; affirming, that they had seven and forty Chanteries in that Church: according to which Proportion there was certainly a vast Revenue swallowed up by them throughout the whole Kingdom: For there was not a Cathedral, or collegiate Church, in *England*, but a Number of Chanteries were founded in them, and in many Parochial Churches also: And, if the Model of the Country Churches be observed, very often some additional Building, or Excrescence, appears, differing from the old or first Fabric, erected and used for these Chanteries. And, that the Nature and Use of these may be the better apprehended, we will here specify the Foundation and Ordination of one of them, *viz.*

Vid. Stat. 37. Hen. VIII. ca. 4. and 1 Edw. VI. cap. 14.

Thomas de Packinton, in the Year 1348. *An.* 22. *Edward* III, founded a Chantery at *Chelmscote* in *Warwickshire*, and settled Lands and Tenements, of a good Value, to maintain four Priests, to sing Mass for

W. Dugdale. Antiq. Warw. in Chelmscote.

for his Lord the Earl of *Warwick*, his Countess, Children, and Ancestors; as also for himself, his Parents, Kinsfolks, and their Posterity, and for the Souls of all faithful People deceased, in Manner following, *viz.* two of them, which were to inhabit near the Chapel at *Chelmscote*, every Day to sing the Mattens of the Day, and of the blessed Lady, with all canonical Hours, distinctly and openly: and to sing Mass daily, *viz.* one of them every *Sunday*, and on the great Festivals; and on *Monday* the Mass of the holy Trinity; *Tuesday* of St. *Thomas* the Martyr; on *Wednesday* of St. *Catharine* and St. *Margaret*; *Thursday* of *Corpus Christi*; *Friday* of the holy Cross; and *Saturday* of the Annunciation of our Lady, The other Priest to celebrate every Day the Mass of *Requiem* for the Souls of all the Faithful departed this Life; and in every Mass to say seven Collects, one of the Celebration of the Mass; the second for him the said *Thomas de Packinton*, viz. *Deus qui Charitatis*, &c. the third also for him after his Death, *Deus cujus Misericordiæ*, &c. the fourth of St. *Thomas* the Martyr; the fifth of the Annunciation of the blessed Virgin; the sixth for the Souls of the Deceased, beginning with *Inclina*; the seventh the general Collect, which beginneth *Sanctissima Dei Genetrix Maria*, especially naming therein the said Earl, his Countess, and Children, and him the said *Thomas de Packinton*, and all his Kindred: and upon all holy Days to say a *Placebo*, and

Dirige; with ſpecial Commendation of the Souls of the Perſons before ſpoken of, and the Souls of all the Faithful deceaſed. Likewiſe he ordained that the other two Prieſts ſhould live together near the Church, and be daily preſent therein at *Mattins*, and all other canonical Hours, to join with the other Prieſts, except juſt Cauſe and Hinderance happened; and daily ſing Maſs at the Altar near his Father's Grave. And that all theſe Prieſts, before their Admiſſion to theſe Chanteries, ſhould take their corporal Oaths to obſerve all the Orders, to their utmoſt Power. And this Ordination, containing ſeveral other Particulars, was confirmed by the Canons of *Kenilworth*, Rectors of the Church; by *John de Chelmſcote*, Vicar; the Earl of *Warwick*; and the Biſhop of *Worceſter*.

Free-Chapels were ſuch as were founded and endowed, and had no Relation unto, or Dependence on, a Mother-Church (ſaving only the Right of Sepulture;) and theſe were greater than Chanteries, having greater Revenues, and more Rooms for Prieſts, and more Prieſts for that Room, to ſing Maſs, and pray for the Souls of the Founders, and others, according to the Inſtitution. Free-Chapels.

Colleges were Foundations of a like Nature, and, though fewer in Number, yet were richer than both the former: amongſt which the College of *Fotheringhay*, in *Northamptonſhire*, was yearly valued at four hundred nineteen Pounds, eleven Shillings, and ten Pence Colleges. Speed's Catal. in Norhampt.

Half-penny. For the Offices and Employments of the Priests in these and the Free-Chapels maintained, they were much of the Nature of Chanteries, of which enough before.

Now, the yearly Value of all those Lands, Tenements, Rents, and Revenues, which were settled upon these Abbies, Monasteries, Nunneries, Chanteries, Colleges, and Free-Chapels, without Doubt, was as vast, as to us now unknown; the Pope being better able to give an Account of them, at this Day, than we ourselves: for they say that Rentals, and Particulars of all those Lands and Revenues, are still kept upon the File, in the Pope's Study, that great Landlord of the World, in Expectation and Hope they will one Day revert to their former Use and Behalf; but the generous *English* will not easily be gulled, and they will not be wheedled, by *Romish* Arguments, out of their Estates.

Shrines, Images, Relicks, &c.

In the next Place, Shrines, Images, Relicks, Indulgences, *&c.* in a Multitude of Places within the Kingdom, daily drew great Sums out of the People's Purses, both in the Procuring, and Purchasing, and Donation of such precious Commodities, and in daily Resorting to them afterwards with Vows and Offerings. But, these being of the same Nature, and *ejusdem Farinæ*, with those at *Rome*, and elsewhere, of which enough before, we will trouble you no more with them here.

So

So the Commanding and Forbidding many Things, wherein Dispensations might be had from Courts and Officers here; as, certain Obstacles of Marriage; the Use and Difference of Meats; Vows, &c. and all to be redeemed for Money. Dispensations.

Many wandering Mountebank Priests went up and down the Country, preaching the Lives of some holy Men and Saints, and promising the simple People, that, if they vowed themselves to those Saints, and paid something in Hand, and such a yearly Tribute, they should be freed from such Diseases as they desired. Mountebank Priests.

The Bishops had divers Ways, and Artifices, to screw Money out of the Priests under them; and then those Priests, to heal themselves, were forced to cheat and wring Money out of the People. Bishops and Priests.

Great and frequent Expences were had in Consecrating and Hallowing of Churches, Church-yards, &c. Baptising of Bells; Making, Repairing, Apparelling, and Adorning of Images; and such-like Matters: for, upon Pretence that these, or any of these, were prophaned by several and trifling Ways, then all must be consecrated anew, and the Parish and the People assessed, and constrained to pay deeply for it. And of this Kind of Grievances great Complaints were often made. Consecrations.

Many Courts were also in *England*, to which Citations and Summons were made; and therein People continually vexed, tor- Courts.

mented, and excommunicated; and thence never dismissed, till excessive Sums were extorted and paid; the aggrieved Parties not daring to appeal to *Rome*, for Fear of more excessive Charges. Nay the Corruptions in, and the Grievances growing by these Courts, as they were innumerable, so no other Way tolerable, but that all was to be redeemed for Money. And one pretty Trick the Ecclesiastical Judges had in these Courts, that, when the Business of Matrimony had proceeded so far, that one of the Parties had pretended a Contract which the other denied, and that some Gifts, as Earnests of Love, or Marriage, had passed between them, the Ecclesiastical Judges, separating the Parties, would keep the Gifts for themselves, as forfeited, or escheated.

Visitors, &c.

Visitors, and Synodal Judges, travelling about the Country, with a numerous Retinue of Advocates, Proctors, Notaries, Registers, Summoners, Servants, Apparitors, and Officers, under Colour of visiting of Churches, Chapels, and Parishes, were a very great Burden and Charge to the People wherever they came, screwing Money upon every Pretence out of their Pockets, as they pleased, besides annual Sums claimed as due; making themselves Stalking-horses, whereby any Man might satisfy his Revenge, or Malice, upon his Neighbour, upon Complaint, Suggestion, or Information, of Wrongs done, or Canons broken; whereupon Sentences, Censures,

ſures, Condemnations, and Excommunications, with all Rigour, followed, to the utter Undoing of many Men, the Inriching of the Judges, and Officers, but never turning to any Avail or Satisfaction of the Complainant. Theſe Itinerants alſo extorted great Sums, as they pleaſed, weekly, monthly, or yearly, from Uſurers, Brokers, Scriveners, Bakers, Butchers, Victuallers, Phyſicians, Surgeons, Midwives, Schoolmaſters, &c.

Private Confeſſions, as they were managed, were the more frequently and exceſſively abuſed for the drawing Money out of Men, in Regard the Cheat was cloſely handled, whilſt the Sinner's Conſcience was quieted, and the World ſerved with a public Penance, or ſome viſible Addreſſes to theſe Confeſſors. Confeſſions.

The new Doctrine, and Invention of Purgatory, bred by Superſtion, and nurſed by Covetouſneſs, as it was managed, became a moſt forceable Engine continually to drain the People's Money. For when Men were made to believe, that after Death their Souls ſhould enter into a Region of Fire, there to ſuffer long and bitter Torments, to be purged and fitted for the Region of Bliſs; but yet to be eaſed there, and the ſooner releaſed according to the Meaſure and Number of the Maſſes, Offices, and Prayers, which ſhould be made on their Behalf here, whilſt they lay broiling in that fearful State: People were put upon it to Purgatory.

make the beſt Proviſion they could in their Life-time, or at leaſt at their Deaths, that ſuch Helps and Means ſhould be uſed, on their Behalf, as they might reaſonably reckon upon a ſhort and tolerable Continuance there.

To this Purpoſe the Founding and Endowing of Monaſteries, Abbies, and Nunneries, by the beſt and richer Sort, and the Colleges, Free-Chapels, and Chanteries, by the middle Sort of People, according to their reſpective Abilities, and the Apprehenſions they had of this future State, all pointed at the Good of the Founder's Soul after Death, and the Souls of ſuch others as he appointed; of which we have had ſomething before.

But then, alas! for thoſe poor Creatures, whoſe ſmall Eſtates, and Narrowneſs of Fortunes, would not reach to ſuch Proviſions, what would become of them? Theſe then were put to it to make the beſt Shift they could for themſelves, by endeavouring, in their Life-time, to get an Intereſt in the Favour and Merit of ſome Saint, and by purchaſing and getting all the Indulgences they could: for it was a very ſad Thing to leave all to Chance, or to truſt to the voluntary Interceſſion of others; this would leave them at a great Uncertainty, and, *in Articulo Mortis*, make the poor Soul ſhift its Manſion in a moſt fearful Apprehenſion and Horror. Indeed, Sir *Thomas More* was ſo charitable a Sollicitor for theſe poor

Souls,

Souls, that he drew up a moſt pathetical Supplication for them, and preſented it in their Names thus: *To all good Chriſtian People, in moſt piteous wiſe continually call and cry upon your devout Charity, and tender Pity, for Help, Comfort, and Relief, your late Acquaintance, Kindred, Companions, Spouſes, Playfellows, and Friends, and now your humble, and unacquainted, and half-forgotten Suppliants, poor Priſoners of God, the ſilly Souls in Purgatory, here abiding, and enduring the grievous Pains, and hot cleanſing Fire*, &c.

Sir Thomas More's Supplication of Souls. In Imitation of Gerſon's Querela Defunctorum in Igne Purgatorio ad ſuperſtites Amicos. Pars 4. Oper. Coll. 959.

But yet, not truſting to the uncertain Charity of others, moſt Perſons ſtrained to the utmoſt, and many moſt exceſſively, their Fortunes conſidered, to leave ſome Proviſion behind them, for that Purpoſe: and moſt commonly by their laſt Wills and Teſtaments, which were accounted ſacred, and carrying an Obligation more than ordinary for all Perſons concerned to ſee them performed: and thereby, or by Acts executed in their Life-time, it was not rare, for many Men, though they had many Children to provide for, or many Debts to pay, to *poſtpone* all Relations and Conſiderations to this Concern of the Soul, and to appoint and take Order for *Maſſes ſatisfactory*, *Anniverſaries*, *Obits*, *Requiems*, *Dirges*, *Placebo's*, *Trentals*, *Lamps*, *Lights*, and other Offices, to be performed daily, weekly, monthly, or yearly, as far as the Sums deſtined would afford,

for the Eaſe and Help of the Teſtator's Soul.

Maſſes. Maſſes ſatisfactory were the *Romiſh* Service appointed to be ſaid, or ſung, at a certain Time, or Times, and at an appointed Place, at ſuch an Altar, or in ſuch a Chapel, with ſpecial Reference to, or Remembrance of, ſuch a Soul, or Souls, tormented in Purgatory.

Anniverſary. An *Anniverſary* was the Appointment and Performance of Prayers, at ſuch or ſuch a Time, once a Year, for the Souls of deceaſed Perſons: Commonly upon the Day of the Death of the Party who appointed it: and this in Imitation of the old Anniverſary Days, whereon the Martyrdom, or Deaths, of Saints were celebrated.

Obit. An *Obit* was a funeral Office, performed for the Dead, and for his Soul's Health, at certain Times and Places appointed.

Requiem. A *Requiem* was an Office, or Maſs, commonly ſung for the Dead, ſo called from thoſe Words in it, *Requiem æternam dona eis, Domine.*

Dirge. A *Dirge, quaſi Dirige*, was an Office of the ſame Nature, for Souls in Purgatory, ſo called from the firſt Word of the firſt *Antiphone* in the Office, *Dirige*, &c.

Placebo. A *Placebo* was another ſuch like Office, or Service, performed for the Health and good Eſtate of ſome Soul or Souls, ſo called from the Word *Placebo*, being the firſt Word of the Office.

A *Tren-*

A *Trental*, from the *French Trente*, was a Service of thirty Maſſes, ſaid or ſung for the Dead, or a Service performed thirty Days after their Death. Trental.

Lamps and Lights were by many ordered to be continually burning before ſome certain Altar, Image, or Place, or over ſome Sepulchre, ſo hallowed, as conceived to afford ſome Eaſe or Benefit to Souls in Purgatory. Lamps, Lights.

The Revenues that were given and ſettled for the Maintenance of theſe, and ſuchlike Devices, which were very conſiderable throughout the Kingdom, were by the Stat. 1. *Edward* VI. Cap. 14. given to the King; and they, as vain and ſuperſtitious Inventions, quite annulled. Stat. 1. Ed. VI. Cap. 14.

What an Eſteem was formerly had of the Virtue an Efficacy of theſe Maſſes, &c. may partly appear by a memorable Record ſtill extant, *viz.* *Eleanor*, Conſort of King *Edward* I, dying, the King ſent out a Writ to all the Religious Houſes, and Monks of *Cluny* in *England*, to ſing Maſſes, and make Prayers for her Soul, and to certify him the Number of the Maſſes they ſhould perform on that Behalf, that proportionably he might ſhew his Gratitude to them. Pat. 19. Ed. I. m. 11. Litera ſupplicatoria de Orando pro Regina defuncta.

So, in the Year 1290, *Dominus Thomas*, (Prior of *Chriſt*'s Church in *Canterbury*) *conceſſit Domino Regi in Feſta Tranſlationis beati Edvardi Quinquaginta Pſalteria, Duo Millia* CCCL *Miſſas, pro Animabus Pro-* Chron. W. Thorn. Coll. 1958.

genitorum ſuorum & Reginarum Angliæ, as an extraordinary Liberality and ſpiritual Alms; as is related by *W. Thorn.*

Bundel. Brev. An. 19 Edw.I. in Turr. Lond.

And about the ſame Time alſo it was, that *Arnold Otho*, Abbot of *Condam*, ſent a Certificate to the King, to inform him what Prayers, Maſſes, and Anniverſaries, he and his Monaſtery had ordered for the ſpeedy Tranſlation of his deceaſed Queen to the heavenly Joys.

From all this now may eaſily be apprehended the Force of vitiated and depraved Imaginations; when Men's Intellectuals are firſt blinded with Ignorance, and then led by Superſtition; being affrighted with uncouth Relations of Apparitions, Miracles, and the Horrors of an imaginary Purgatory: What will they not do, or undertake, to alleviate, and mitigate, *in tanto*, if not *in toto*, thoſe approaching Torments; and, for that Purpoſe, ſuffer themſelves to be hauled, and pulled, ſometimes one Way by Guides as blind as themſelves, and ſometimes another by treacherous and dangerous Deſigners? Yet, in the Darkeſt of theſe Times, there wanted not ſome that could diſcern that all was not right, and that they were gotten into a very uncertain and dangerous Road, and in as much Danger from their Guides, as the Enemy which they would avoid. Some of theſe, in a more ſerious Way, proteſting, and adviſing both againſt the Error, and the Danger of it, had

had their Mouths ſoon ſtopped; when others, more jocular, between Jeſt and Earneſt, as it were, made bold with the Corruptions and Abuſes of the Times, Witneſs the Wits and Satyriſts of their reſpective Times *Robert* of *Glouceſter*, *John Harding*, *Jeffrey Chaucer*, *John Gower*, *Robert Longland*, alias *Piers Plowman*, *Lydgate*, and many more, whoſe dull Rhymes carried a cutting Senſe with them. Indeed, though the Laſhes of a Satyriſt ſeldom or never produce Amendment of epidemical Vices and Errors, yet in this they have their Fruit, that thereby Poſterity is oftentimes more truly informed of the Manners and Genius of Times, than by the profeſſed Hiſtorian, who rarely touches that String: And, by theſe, the Abuſes and Cheats of Prieſts, Monks, and Friars, in their Maſſes, Confeſſions, Shrifts, Penances, Pardons, Indulgences, Miracles, Relicks, *&c.* all ſerving to fill the People's Brains with vain and terrible Apprehenſions, and to empty their Purſes, according to the Wit of their reſpective Ages, to the Warning of this, notably and ſmartly detected, arraigned, and condemned.

A Multitude more of Inſtances might be given of the Chargeableneſs and Expenſiveneſs of Popery, whereby the People were daily abuſed and impoveriſhed, to the Inriching of others with their Spoils, whoſe natural Office and Duty was to feed, and not to fleece the Flock. Hence

hath

hath been noted the ready Tendency of degenerate Religion, when it throws off its ſpiritual Temper, at the ſame Time to graſp at temporal Power and temporal Riches. How that Power was uſurped, we have in Part ſeen in the firſt Tract: and, how the Riches were ingroſſed, we have endeavoured to make ſome Diſcovery in this; and, amongſt all the Arts uſed for that Purpoſe, none proved more effectual, than this Device of Purgatory: this was the Fire that always kept the Pope's Kitchen warm, and gave Life to Indulgences, Pardons, Diſpenſations, Jubilees, Regular Foundations, Shrines, Maſſes, Confeſſions, *&c.*

I muſt confeſs I have ſometimes endeavoured to underſtand the Nature and Import of this Popiſh Purgatory, but could never yet meet with any Satisfaction therein: And, to ſay Truth, the Differences amongſt the Papiſts are ſo many and irreconcileable, in all the Points and Circumſtances which concern this Doctrine, that they ſerve ſufficiently, inſtead of all other Reaſons and Arguments, to confute it. Firſt, for the Place, *Eckius* will have it to be in the Bottom of the Sea; ſome will have it in Mount *Ætna*, *Veſuvius*, *Hecla*, *Ande*, or ſome ſuch other burning Mountain; and *Bernard de Buſtis* in an Hill of *Ireland*. Next, for the Torments, Sir *Thomas More* will have them to be only by Fire; but *Fiſher*, his Fellow-ſufferer by Fire and by

Eckius in Encheirid.

In Roſar. pars 3. cap. 2.

by Water: *Lorichius* neither by Fire, nor Water, but by the violent Convulsions of Hope and Fear. Then, for the Executioners, or Tormentors, these differ no less again; for Bishop *Fisher* will have them to be the holy Angels, but Sir *Thomas More* to be the very Devils. Then, for the Sins to be there expiated, some will have them to be the *Venial* only, and other say the *Mortal* too. And, for the Time of Souls Continuance in that State, *Dennis* the *Carthusian* extends it to the End of the World; when *Dominicus à Soto* limits it to ten Years; and others make it depend on the Number of the Masses, and Offices, that shall be done on their Behalf, or if the Pope do but speak the Word. Lastly, for the Extremity of the Pains, *Aquinas* makes them as violent as those of Hell: But the *Rhemists* say, that the Souls there are in a very fine Condition: And *Durandus*, between these Extremes, gives them some Intermission from those terrible Pains, upon *Sundays* and Holy-Days. *Bede* tells a long Story of a *Northumberland* Man, that after he died returned to Life again, and gave a Relation of the Condition of those piteous Souls, *viz.* that he passed through the Middle of a long and large Valley, that had two Lakes in it, on either Side one all along, both top-ful of Souls, constantly leaping out of one into the other;

Lorich. Instit. Cathol.

Vid. B. Jewel's Defence part 2. cap. 16.

Dionys. Carthus. de 4 Novis.

Rhem. Annot. in Apoc. 14. 13.

Durand. de Offic. Mortuor. cap. 7.

Bedæ Eccles. Hist. lib. 5. cap. 13.

in

in the one of these Lakes the Souls were tormented with Fire, and in the other with freezing Cold; and, when a Soul had been so long in the hot Lake, that it could endure no longer, it would skip out into the cold Lake; and, when it had lain so long there, as that it became intolerable, it would leap back again into the fiery Apartment: and so they continued continually tormented with that Alternation of Heat, and Cold. But by all this Uncertainty, or Contrariety rather of Opinions, it may clearly be seen, upon what weak Foundations they have raised this Building; which certainly would have fallen to the Ground long ago, if it had not been for the Profit which the Popes, Priests, and Friars have raised by the Fiction.

And upon this one Point of Popish Doctrine, *viz.* Purgatory, as I noted before, their Masses, Requiems, Dirges, Trentals, Prayers for the Dead, the Doctrine of Merits, Works of Supererogation, Indulgences, Pardons, Jubilees, *&c.* do depend; all tending to bring into the heavenly *Exchequer* at *Rome*, where, by Inversion of the Holy Scripture, *Gain is great Godliness*: and though St. *Peter* said, *Silver and Gold have I none*; yet those which pretend to be his Successors, ingross to themselves the Treasures of the World: for, to the Support of that usurped Hierarchy, all Kings, with the People,

were by theſe Arts forced to contribute, and to make Surrendry of their temporal Power and temporal Riches: And though the Pope, as the Head thereof, glutted himſelf with the Cream of the Kingdom's Wealth; yet all the other Members, down to the very Petty-toes of that *Romiſh* Body, would be continually raking and ſcraping for themſelves, being as Spunges to ſuck from the People, that they might afford ſometimes to be ſqueezed by the Pope.

CHAP.

CHAP. XXV.

THE FRIARS' CASE.

ONE Way, ſpecified before, of carrying great Sums out of the Kingdom to *Rome*, was Appeals, and drawing a Multitude of Cauſes to be heard and determined in the Court of *Rome*: and, though thoſe were not always the moſt weighty, or difficult, yet, whatever the Suggeſtion was, if introduced with Money, the Cauſe was received, and treated accordingly. And now, for a Concluſion, and that my Reader may as well be a little recreated, as informed what Kind of Cauſes were brought ſometimes before his Holineſs and his Courts: I will give him a Report, or Relation of a certain Caſe, tranſmitted thither, as it received a Hearing, Re-hearing, and Re-re-hearing, before it had its final Reſolution in the Court of *Rome*; as depending there near upon fifty Years, before it was diſmiſt.

Anti-mach. fo. 86, &c.

St. *Francis*, the Founder of the Order of *Franciſcan* Friars, about the Year 1198, amongſt other Articles of his Rule, ordained thus, That all that were of his Order, for Apparel, ſhould cloath themſelves with the baſeſt, vileſt, and of the loweſt Price that could

could be: That they ſhould only have one Coat with a Hood, and another without a Hood: That they ſhould wear no Shoes, nor ride on Horſeback. Now, amongſt the Friars of this Order, there grew great Differences, and Diſputations, about the Interpretation of this one Article. To compoſe which, a General Chapter, or Convention, was held, that the true Meaning of the Article might be underſtood and declared, and that all might ſort themſelves to one Habit, for ſome wore Habits of one Colour, and ſome of another; and ſome were ſhort, and others long; inſomuch as they ſeemed not to be all of the ſame Rule and Order.

In this Chapter, or Convention, there were notable Diſputes, and Arguments, upon all the Points or Branches of this Article. But about the two laſt Points they came to Agreement without much Difficulty: for, ſeeing they were forbidden to ride on Horſeback, they reſolved to ride on Aſſes and Mules, or to go on Foot, as now commonly they do; wherein they conſidered alſo the Convenience of Aſſes, in Regard they could keep them in their Convents at an eaſier Charge than Horſes, for they would live very well without Provender. And, for Shoes, they reſolved, that they would take away the Upper-leather, leaving a Sole only with a Thong to go over the Foot, to make the Sole faſt to the Foot, and ſo they ſhould not be Shoes, but Soles. But the great Difficul-

ty was about the Coat and Hood: And there were ſome cunning Friars, good at Diviſion, who divided the firſt Branch of the Article into three principal Points or Queſtions: The Firſt, about the Colour; the Second, about the Quantity; and the Third, about the Form or Faſhion of the Coat and Hood.

Firſt great Point.

To the Firſt, about the Colour, there were divers Opinions, and no Accord could be amongſt them. For the glorious St. *Francis* had ſpoken nothing of the Colour in his Rule, but only ordained, that they of his Order ſhould wear Habits of a low Price; and thereupon fell out a great Queſtion, *viz.* what Colour was of leaſt Price, and would ſeem to be moſt vile? Some reaſoned thus, That the Green Colour was the cheapeſt and vileſt; and that it was ordinarily ſeen, that People of the loweſt Condition, as Carters, Mariners, and other mean People, wore that Colour in the Linings of their Doublets, as the Meaneſt of all; not forgetting the Green Apron, generally worn by the plaineſt Sort of People, and never by the Rich. They argued farther, that the Matter wherewith the Green Colour is made is cheaper, and readier at Hand, than any other; for, with Herbs, Leaves, and Graſs, the Green Colour may be made, both for Linen, and for Woollen; nay, take a Maid, and lay her but along on the Graſs, and every one will ſay ſhe has a Green Gown.

Argument.

But

But others were of Opinion, that the Murrey, or Smoky Colour, was viler, easier to be gotten, and cheaper than the Green, or any other Colour; for, to make that Colour, there need no more than to take White Wool and Soot, and one need not go over the Threshold for Materials for that Dye. Answer.

But then there were others of a third Opinion, who thought themselves more certainly in the Right, than either of the other two; and these said that no Colour was more easy to be had, viler, or more suitable to their Order, than that which came pure from the Beast's Back, and that was Black, or White: And that it would correspond with St. *Francis*'s Mind and Design, that they should wear the Colour of the Beast, in Token of Humility and Patience; and farther adding, that all other Colours cost something, if it were but Labour; but the Colour of the Beast would cost nothing at all.

But to all this they that were for Green, or Smoky Colours, replied, That they who disputed for the Colour of the Beast shewed they had too much of the Beast in them; because their Conclusion was alternative and indeterminate; for they concluded upon White and Black, without resolving either upon the one, or the other; and that such a Conclusion implied a Contradiction; for, said they, nothing is more contrary than Black and White. Besides, Reply.

if they wore the Colour of the Sheep, it might give Occasion unto Men to censure them for being *Wolves in Sheep's Cloathing*. They urged also, that already other *Mendicants* had taken up those two Colours, for the *Jacobins* wore White under, and Black above; and the *Carmelites*, on the Contrary, Black under, and White above; and that generally all other Sorts of Monks, which held the Rules of St. *Augustin*, St. *Bernard*, St. *Benet*, and others, wore either Black, or White; and it might be esteemed either Presumption, Incroachment, or Usurpation, to assume the Habits or Colours of others; and therefore that would not be the Way to draw unto them the Devotion of the World: And then these concluded, that, if they should take the Colour of Black, there were some Countries where were no black Sheep, as in *Berry*, *Limoges*, and *Languedoc*; in which Countries they must be forced to dye their Wool, and that would make it dear, and, by Consequence, directly against the Rule of the blessed St. *Francis*; and how should they pay for Dying, when they are expresly forbidden to handle any Silver? And then, if the Order should chuse the White Colour, there are other Countries, where there are no White Sheep, or but few, as in *Tuscany*, and other Places; so that there the Friars must have their Cloaths out of far Countries, which would be to their greater Cost, and directly also against their Rule and Liberties: And therefore these concluded

ed no Colours ſo fit, as the Green, or Smoky.

But then, thoſe that were for the Colour of the Beaſt rejoined and ſaid, That the Opinion for Green, and that other for Smoky Colours, were the moſt ſavage and ſordid Opinions in the World, anſwerable to the Reaſon of thoſe that maintained it: for, ſaid they, Green is a Colour moſt fit for Fools and Jackanapes's that are ordinarily ſeen in that Colour. And then, in Countries, where they ſay there is none but black Wool, how can they dye that into Green, or Smoky? But, by this Time, the Conteſt grew very hot, which a ſhrewd old Friar obſerving, and ſuſpecting that this Wrangling about Habits would bring them to a Habit of Wrangling, and make a Rent in the Order, ſtood up, and, after Silence commanded, he commended all thoſe that had ſo thoroughly and learnedly debated the Matter on both Sides; but, ſeeing, ſaid he, the Caſe is very weighty and difficult, it ſeems to me to merit the Reſolution of our holy Father the Pope, and that it ought to be referred to his Determination: to which Motion, for that Time, they all aſſented. Rejoined.

After this, the Seniors of the Fraternity caused the ſecond Queſtion of the three to be propoſed, touching the Quantity of their Habits, whether they ſhould be long, or ſhort; wide, or ſtreight. And to this a Number ſtood up, declaring their Opinion to be, That the Garments of their Order ought to be ſhort Second great Point.

and ſtreight, and that for many Reaſons, as they alledged: For, ſaid they, Garments that are ſhort and ſtreight are more vile and cheap, than thoſe that are long and large, becauſe they have not ſo much Stuff in them: Therefore, ſince the glorious St. *Francis*, our Founder, ordained we ſhould wear Habits vile and of little Price, we cannot better obſerve that holy Rule, (wherein conſiſteth the State of Perfection) than in making our Habits as ſhort and ſtreight as is poſſible. Beſides, ſaid they, our bleſſed Founder hath made us all *Mendicants*, to live on the Charities of good People; to gather which, we muſt be always travelling and running about the Country; and therefore we cannot poſſibly be ſo nimble, in a long and wide, as in a ſhort and ſtreight Garment.

Argument.

But then preſently another Company ſteps up and condemns this Opinion, as the moſt ſtrange and ridiculous as might be: Becauſe, ſaid theſe, if Friars ſhould wear ſhort Habits, they would look more like Jockeys and Millers, than Friars; and Experience ſhews, that in ſome Countries, where Friars uſed to wear ſhort Habits, the Order was preſently contemned, and derided, and Men called them *Curtailed* Friars. Beſides, the very Mind of St. *Francis*, in this, may ſomewhat be underſtood, becauſe in this Article he uſes the Word *Tunic*, which ſeems to ſignify a long Robe, or Garment. Moreover, long Habits are more ſeemly for religious Men,

Anſwer.

Men, and ſhort Habits for Lay-men. Farther they ſaid, that all other Sorts of Monks wore long and wide Habits, and it would be a great Blemiſh, as well as a Novelty, if the Order of the moſt glorious St. *Francis* ſhould take a ſhort Habit. And then, ſaid they, when we go into the Pulpit to preach, or when we go to ſay Maſs, will it not be a rare Sight for us to go like Skipjacks and Millers? Therefore theſe concluded, that their Habit ſhould be long and large.

Reply.

Notwithſtanding all this, the firſt Opinioniſts in this Point replied and ſaid, That the good St. *Francis* had taught them the Way of Humility, and therefore they ſhould not wear long Garments, like *Phariſees*, to be reverenced in the World; for that taſted of Pride, and not of his Humility; and they which are deſpiſed of the World are eſteemed of God, and ſo on the Contrary. Then, for the Notation of the Word *Tunic*, they ſaid, that, in the Rule of St. *Benet*, it ſignified not a long Robe, but a little Coat, or Caſſock; and ſo it is found in *Ambroſe Calepin*'s Dictionary (who was of our Order, ſaid they;) not a long Robe, but *Toga*; and that therefore the Letter of the Article made for them in that Point. And as for what had been ſaid, that other Monks wear long and wide; theſe ſaid it would be ſo much the better, that there might be a Diſtinction between them and others; and, that they might not look like Lay-men in ſhort Habits, the

Hood would make a Difference ſufficient for that Purpoſe; and Length of Garments alone would not diſtinguiſh them from the Lay-people, for many of them alſo wore long Robes, as Advocates, Counſellors, Proctors, Phyſicians, Merchants, and divers others: And though we may confeſs, ſaid they, that, at the Beginning, it poſſibly may ſeem a Novelty to wear ſhort and ſtreight Garments, with a Hood; yet Time and Cuſtom will take away the Strangeneſs of it, for to all Things there is a Beginning. But, by this Time, the Diſputes upon theſe Points began to be very warm alſo; ſo that ſome of the old ſubtle Friars commanded Silence again; and, having given due Commendations to the Ingenuity and Nimbleneſs of the Diſputers on both Sides, they reſolved to remit the Reſolution of theſe high Matters alſo to the great Oracle of the World, their holy Father at *Rome*.

Third great Point.

Then the third Queſtion was ſtarted, touching the Form and Faſhion of theſe Habits; and upon that it was put to the Queſtion, Whether their Habits ſhould be ſingle, or double: If they might be any whit fine, or not: If they ſhould have Collars, or none: If they ſhould uſe Points, or Buttons: If they ſhould have Skirts, or none: Or Sleeves, or no Sleeves: Or, if Sleeves, whether the Hanging Sleeves, or no: And, upon this Matter of Sleeves, ſome were for little Sleeves, becauſe the great one would take up more Stuff, and be dearer, and ſo

Argument.

contrary

contrary to their Rule: But then others that were for the great Sleeves ſaid, they might ſerve them inſtead of a Scrip, or Pouch; for the good St. *Francis* had commanded them to beg and live upon Alms, and alſo had forbidden them to carry Pouch, Bag, or Scrip; and it was neceſſary they ſhould have ſomething wherein to put their Alms. To anſwer which, the others ſaid there might be another Help, *viz.* to take a Man, or a Boy, with them, (whom they might call a *Judas*) to carry a Bag, or Scrip, for that Purpoſe, who alſo might take Money, if any gave it. But this Project did not, in all Reſpects, pleaſe the others; though, as to the Taking of Money, they liked that well enough; but ſuch Boys and Men would be *Judas*'s indeed, and ſteal and purloin what was given; however, if they ſhould be honeſt, they muſt be maintained, which would ſtrike a great Stroke, and make a Hole in their Gains, and ſo the Bread would be eaten out of the poor Friars' Mouths by theſe Dependants. Anſwer.

Then they came to debate the Faſhion of their Hoods: And, as to that, ſome were for flat and cloſe Hoods, which they ſaid would betoken Humility, and would be warmer: But others were for the ſharp-pointed Hood, which they ſaid would denote their ſharp, quick, and piercing Conceits, and how they aſpired upwards. And many Allegations and Exceptions were made and taken to all theſe, and Argument. Anſwer.

divers

divers other the like Points, which blew the Company into a great Combuſtion: which ſome of the more diſcreet amongſt them perceiving, and conſidering what bad Succeſs they had in the Diſputes upon the former Points, and that in theſe there was like to be no better Harmony; they moved that the Differences in theſe great Points alſo might be referred to the infallible Judgment of the Pope, holding it as expedient to ſend for a Reſolution of three Queſtions, as of two; for, ſaid they, when a Fire is made, it is as cheap roaſting three Chickens, as two. And to this they all conſented.

Not long after, certain Delegates of the Order took their Journey to *Rome*, to Pope *Nicholas* III, about the Year 1280; who convened all his Cardinals, that with them he might underſtand and determine all theſe high and ſubtle Points. And after long Debate, and mature Deliberation taken, upon all Things alledged, and inſiſted on, in theſe Matters; at length, with the Advice of his Cardinals, the Pope made this Reſolution, *viz.* He ordained, and commanded, that, in all thoſe Queſtions, that only ſhould be obſerved, which ſhould be concluded and determined in a Chapter General, or elſe in Provincial Chapters, or Conventions, which for that Purpoſe ſhould be congregated: Provided that there might always ſhine in the Friars an holy Poverty, according to their holy Rule. Upon this, and for this

Purpoſe,

Purpoſe, many Chapters were afterwards aſſembled: but all to no Purpoſe at all, for therein they fell out, as in great Heats, and Differences, about all theſe difficult Points, as ever they were before.

Then, about thirty Years after, the Fraternity, by Reaſon of the great Diſſenſions amongſt them touching theſe Matters, ſent Delegates to *Rome* again, to Pope *Clement* V, who then held a Council at *Vienna*, *An. D.* 1311; giving the Pope to underſtand, how, according to the Ordinance of Pope *Nicholas*, the Chapters had done all they poſſibly could to overcome the ſaid Difficulties, but could not bring them to any tolerable Concluſion; but that, contrarily, the more the Matters were debated, the more Doubts and Difficulties always did ariſe; therefore, as to the very Oracle of Truth, they wholly ſubmitted to him all their Differences in the Premiſes. Upon this the Pope, after hearing all that they alledged and offered, touching the Points in Difference, with Advice of the Prelates, Cardinals, Doctors, and others aſſembled in that Council, puts forth a true Oracle indeed, that is, nothing of Certainty to the Queſtions propoſed to him: For his Reſolution was, That the Guardians, and the other chief Miniſters of the Order, ſhould judge of the Vility, Colour, Length, Wideneſs, and Faſhion of their Habits: Commanding all the Friars punctually to obſerve and obey the Orders and Re-

ſolutions of their Guardians and Chiefs, without framing, or propoſing, any more Doubts, Subtleties, or Scruples. With all this, contained in a very fair Bull, the Delegates and Agents returned Home: And the Guardians and Chiefs of the Order, in Purſuance thereof, applied themſelves to order and ſettle theſe Matters: But then, beſides the Differences that aroſe amongſt themſelves, whenever they agreed on any Thing, thoſe Friars, againſt whoſe Opinion it was carried, would quarrel inſolently at it, and would be ſo far from yielding Conformity, that they did not ſpare ro revile their Superiors, calling them Fools and Dunces, for no better Underſtanding the Text of St. *Francis*'s Rule: And in this Diſorder they continued a long Time, until,

In the Year 1323, in the Time of Pope *John* XXII, who reſided at *Avignon*, the Guardians and Superiors of the Order went to complain once more to his Holineſs, that the Friars would not obey the Orders they had agreed upon by Virtue of the Bull of Pope *Clement*; and humbly prayed his Holineſs's further Directions and Aid therein. Whereupon the Pope ſent Summons to all thoſe Friars who refuſed to obey their Superior's Decrees in all thoſe controverted Points, that they ſhould either perſonally, or by Writing, certify the Reaions of their Obſtinacy; and, when theſe were come in, the Pope aſſembled all his Cardinals in

Conclave,

Conclave, where the Allegations for and againſt the Friar's Diſobedience were all canvaſſed and debated at large, and many Offers and Propoſals made for a final Concluſion of all: but nothing of that Nature was accepted, and no Agreement there was like to be, except the Pope would, juridically, openly, and plainly, give his Sentence in the Caſe. And thereupon the Pope gave Order for his definitive Bull to be drawn up; wherein, in the firſt Place, he highly extolled the Bulls of his Predeceſſors, the Popes *Nicholas* and *Clement*, wondering why Men ſhould decline the Import and Tenor of them; and then, for himſelf, he ordained and declared, That the Vility of Habits ſhould be meaſured by the Cuſtom of every Country; and after gave Power and Commiſſion to the Guardians and Superiors of the Order (as did Pope *Clement*) to make a Rule for the Longitude, Latitude, Colour, Thickneſs, Faſhion, Subſtance, and Vility, as well of the *Tunics*, as the Hood, and upon all other Circumſtances, Accidents, and Dependences upon the ſame; commanding all the Friars to obey the Rules that ſhould be made, without any more Objections, Arguments, or Contradictions. But neither would this third Bull do the Buſineſs; for Men eſteemed it in, Effect, no more than what had been ordered before, without any Fruit. And ſo the Heats and Diſputes continued, amongſt the Friars, as high as ever: Nay ſome ſpared not to re-

flect on the Pope himself, saying, that he did not rightly understand the Points in Controversy: Others, that he used too many Counsellors, and that one honest *Taylor*, if the Pope could have found him, would have better informed how to stitch up these Rents, than the whole Conclave; and the greatest Scandal was, that, if the Pope, the *Vice-deus*, the Oracle of Truth, the unerring Head, the infallible Guide, could not settle and put an End to Differences of such an inferior Nature, how could he (did many say) infallibly judge and determine in Matters of Faith, and the more sublime Points of Religion, about which there were such Differences in the World?

But at last these Heats amongst the Friars were somewhat allayed, and cooled with Time; and the Generality of the Order betook themselves to the White and Black Colours, as they came purely from the Beast, and thence the Denomination to the White and Black Friars; and some of them intermingled the two Colours, and made a third, and from them came the Grey Friars. And, for the Garments and Hoods, they came to wear them long and large: only the Difference about the Sleeves was never yet accorded, for some wear streight and little Sleeves; and others wear large and wide, for some Conveniencies; and of this Sort was that Friar, who, when he was preaching against Stealing, had all the Time a Goose in

his

his Sleeve. And thus though their infallible Judge could not, or would not, put an End to theſe Differences amongſt his own Creatures, with all his *Decretals* and *Extravagants*, as thoſe Bulls were called; yet, at this Time, we ſhall here to them all put a

FINIS.

AN

AN ESSAY on the SUPREMACY OF THE KING OF ENGLAND, WITHIN His MAJESTY'S REALMS and DOMINIONS.

IN our View of the resplendent Majesty of our Sovereign Lord the King of *England*, it must needs fare with us, as with a curious Eye, that looks on the Sun in its full Lustre, thereby discovering its own Weakness, sooner than the Nature of that glorious Body; being dazzled, if it gaze too long; and scorched, if it approach too near such a refulgent and disproportioned Object. And, therefore, that I may proceed, with Truth and Safety, in this Affair, I must make Use of the Instruments of Law, and the Skreen of Authorities, to direct and defend me, in my intended Progress therein.

Excellens Objectum destruit Sensum.

In the first Place, therefore, we are to know, That the King of *England* hath two Capacities in him, *viz.* one as a natural Body, being descended of the Blood Royal of this Realm; and this Body is of the same

Plowd. Comment. ſeig. Barkly's Caſe, fo. 234. Id. Caſe de Duchy, fo. 213.

Nature with his Subjects, and ſubject to Infirmity, Death, and the like. The other as a politic Body, or Capacity; ſo called, becauſe it is framed by the Policy of Man: and in this Capacity the King is eſteemed to be immortal, not ſubject to Infirmity, Death, Nonage, *&c.* And therefore, when a King of *England* dies, the Lawyers have a peculiar Way of expreſſing the ſame, not ſaying the Death of the King, but the King's Demiſe. And therefore, in Reſpect of this politic Capacity, it is often ſaid, That the King of *England* never dies; and by the Law of *England* there can be no *Interregnum*, for, upon the King's *Demiſe*, his lawful Succeſſor is, *ipſo Facto*, King, without any eſſential Ceremony, or Act, *ex poſt Facto*, to be done: For the Coronation is but a royal Ornament, and Solemniſation of the royal Deſcent, but no Part of the Title. And all this may be collected from the Reſolutions of all the Judges, in the Caſe of *Watſon* and *Clark*, *Seminary* Prieſts, who, with others, entered into Treaſon againſt King *James*, before his Coronation. So King *Henry* VI. was not crowned until the eighth Year of his Reign, and yet ſeveral Men, before his Coronation, were attainted of Treaſon, and Felony, as by the Records thereof it doth appear.

Demiſe le Roy.

Calvin's Caſe, fo. 10, 11.

Hill. An. 1. Jac. Cok. Pl. Coron. 7.

The Reaſons, and Cauſes, wherefore, by the Policy of the Law, the King of *England* is thus a Body politic, are three, *viz.*

First,

First, *Causa Majestatis*, the King cannot give or take, but by Matter of Record: and that in Regard of the Dignity of his Person. Calvin's Case, fo. 12.

Secondly, *Causa Necessitatis*; as in Case to avoid the Attainder of him that hath a Right to the Crown: As, if the right Heir to the Crown be attainted of High Treason, yet shall the Crown descend to him, and, *eo Instanti*, when it happens, without any other Reversal, the Attainder is purged; as it fell out in the Case of King *Henry* VII. lest, in the *Interim*, there should be an *Interregnum*, which the Law of *England* will not suffer, any more than Nature doth a *Vacuum*. As also by Virtue of this politic Capacity, though the King be within Age, yet he may make Leases and Grants; and the same shall be valid; for otherwise his Revenue would decay, and the King would not be able to reward Service, *&c.* 1 Hen. VII. fo. 4. b.

Thirdly, *Causa Utilitatis*; as, when Lands and Tenements, or Possessions, descend from his collateral Ancestors, as being Subjects, as suppose from the Earl of *March*, &c. o the King, the King is seized or possessed of them, *Jure Coronæ*, in his politic Capacity; and they shall go with the Crown. And in this Capacity it was, that Queen *Elizabeth* had and enjoyed all that belonged to Queen *Mary*, though they were but Sisters of the half Blood; which no others could do. And as the Crown of *England* is descendible to the Heirs Males, yet, when

a King dies, and leaves no Son, but Daughters only, the Crown and Dignity Royal descend to the King's eldest Daughter alone, and to her Posterity; and so it hath been declared by a Parliament, for *Regnum non est divisible*. And there shall be no *Possessio Fratris* of the Lands of the Crown; for the Quality of the Person doth, in these, and many other like Cases, alter the Descent; so as all the Lands and Possessions, whereof the King is seized or possessed, *Jure Coronæ*, shall attend upon and follow the Crown, unto whomsoever it shall descend; for the Crown, and the Possessions of the same, are *Concomitantia*.

Stat. 25. Hen. VIII. cap. 22.

The natural Body of the King being thus invested with his politic and royal Capacity, we behold him as the Representative and Lieutenant of God Almighty, who is King of Kings. All Power is from God, and *Imperium non nisi Divino Fato datur*; and therefore *Plato* did say, That God did not appoint and establish Men, that is, Men of a common Sort and Sufficiency, and purely human, to rule and govern others, (cautiously to be understood) but such as, by some divine Touch, singular Virtue, and Gift of Heaven, do excel others; and therefore they are called *Heroes*, and stand in Comparison with others, as we may conceive of the Air, which if we do compare with the Heavens, it is a Kind of Earth; but, if we compare it with the Earth, it is then a Kind of Heaven. So of Kings, if we

compare

compare them with God Almighty, they are but a Kind of Men; but, if we compare them with other Men, they are a Kind of Gods: both intimated in that of the Pſalmiſt, *I have ſaid ye are Gods, but ye ſhall die like Men.*

This royal Majeſty of the King of *England* is repleniſhed with plenary and undoubted Right and Authority to rule and govern all his Subjects, and that in all Cauſes, as well Eccleſiaſtical as Temporal; for this Kingdom of *England* is a ſovereign Empire or Monarchy, conſiſting of one Head, the Sovereign or King; and of a Body Politic, the People; and this Body is diſtinguiſhed into the Clergy and the Laity, all of them intirely ſubject to their royal Head, the King, who, as before is ſaid, is furniſhed, and inſtituted with an intire Authority over every Subject, of what Degree or Quality ſoever, and that in all Cauſes Eccleſiaſtical and Temporal: for otherwiſe the King would be imperfect in his Authority, contrary to the true Notion of Sovereingty; and thereby diſabled to deliver Juſtice in all Cauſes to all his Subjects, or to puniſh all Crimes and Offences within his Dominions; a Conſideration of high Import, for the neceſſary Security both of Prince and People.

But, notwithſtanding the full and ſovereign Right of the King to rule and govern all his Subjects, and that in all Cauſes; and conſequently the juſt and neceſſary Duty of all his Subjects to yield a full and intire

Obedience to all the King's good Laws, (for it is the Law that meaſures out and ſpiriteth the King's Authority, as it directs and inforces the Subjects Obedience;) yet ſo it hath been, and ſo it is, in our *Antinomian* Times, partly by the Obſtinacy and Devotedneſs of ſome, the Weakneſs and Ignorance of others, and the Peeviſhneſs and Perverſeneſs of many, that there is a Multitude of natural born Subject in this Kingdom, who, in Defiance of the Laws, both in their Opinions, and Practices, deny or oppoſe our Sovereign's Supremacy.

On the one Hand, there are the Sectaries, who, notwithſtanding the Law is the Standard of true Allegiance, make the Ground, the Rule, and Meaſures of their Allegiance, to be their own private Fancies; and though the Law is the bright Sun ſhining in the Horizon of this Kingdom, by the Light whereof every one ought to guide his Actions; yet theſe Men out-ſtare this Sun, and giddily run, ſome of them after the *Ignus fatuus* of a pretended Light within them; ſome after the falſe Fires of a miſguided Zeal; too many after the *Boutefeaus* or male-content Incendiaries; and ſome after the very Fumes of hypochondriacal Fits, miſtaken for Viſions and Revelations.

On the other Hand, there are the *Devoto's* of *Rome*, who, in Contempt of the King's Laws and Authority, make the Rules and Meaſures of their Allegiance to be the Will and Pleaſure of a Foreigner. As the Sectaries

ſet

ſet up a Pope in every Man's Conſcience, (whilſt they inveſt it with a Power to controul the Decrees of Princes) and new Lights for themſelves to live and walk by; theſe, contrarily, put out their own Eyes, and give themſelves up to be led by an infallible Head, as they think; to whom whilſt they yield a blind Obedience, they cannot ſee to be good Subjects. Theſe Men, of both Sorts, ſtrike at our Supremacy, the very Foundation and Heart-ſtring of Government; and by whom the very Sinews of Sovereignty are cut aſunder, when, either upon the Suggeſtions of fanatical Deluſions, or the imperious Awes of an extraneous Power, the King's natural Subjects ſhall audaciouſly lift up their Hands and Heels againſt him.

My Province at this Time, to wave all Diſputes, ſhall only be to make ſome Diſcovery of thoſe Foundations of Law, Right, and Authority, whereon our King's Supremacy is built, by the legal and unqueſtionable hiſtorical Evidences and Manifeſto's of the ſame; and, whilſt I keep cloſe there, I ſhall be ſure to be on a ſafe Bottom. I ſhall not pretend to wade into the vaſt Ocean of the King's Prerogative, in all its Extenſions; but ſhall confine myſelf to the Affair of the King's Supremacy in Eccleſiaſtical Matters, without profeſſing yet a Statute to reach the Top of this ſublime, or the Bottom of this profound Concern.

In the firſt Place, then, we are to know, that the King's juſt and lawful Authority,

in eccleſiaſtical Matters, is in Part declared by a Statute made in the firſt Year of Queen *Elizabeth*; and it was one of the Reſolutions of the Judges, in *Cawdry*'s Caſe, That the ſaid Act of the firſt Year of the Queen, concerning eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, was not a Statute introductory of a new Law, but declaratory of the old. But, for our Purpoſe, it will be ſufficient to tranſcribe the Preamble of the Act, which runs thus: Moſt humbly beſeech your moſt excellent Majeſty, your faithful and obedient Subjects, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons, in this your preſent Parliament aſſembled, that, whereas in the Time of the Reign of your moſt dear Father of worthy Memory, King *Henry* VIII, divers good Laws and Statutes were made, as well for the better Extinguiſhment and Putting away of all uſurped and foreign Powers and Authorities out of this your Realm, and other your Highneſs's Dominions and Countries, as alſo for the * Reſtoring and Uniting to the imperial Crown of this Realm the ancient Juriſdictions, Authorities, Superiorities, and Pre-eminences to the ſame of Right belonging; by Reaſon whereof, we, your moſt humble and obedient Subjects, from the 25th Year of the Reign of your ſaid dear Father, were continually kept in good Order, and were diſburdened of divers great and intolerable Charges, before that Time unlawfully taken and exacted by ſuch foreign Power and Authority as before that was uſurped,

Stat. 1. Eliz. cap. 1. Non novam introduxit, ſed antiquam declaravit. Coke 5. Rep. Cawdry'sCaſe, fo. 8.

* Nota.

usurped, until such Time as all the said good Laws and Statutes, by one Act of Parliament made in the first and second Years of the Reigns of the late King *Philip* and Queen *Mary*, your Highness's Sister, intitled, An Act repealing all Statutes, Articles, and Provisions made against the See Apostolic of *Rome*, since the twentieth Year of King *Henry* VIII; and also for the Establishment of all spiritual and ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the Laity; were all clearly repealed and made void, as by the said Act of Repeal more at large appears: by Reason of which Act of Repeal, your said humble Subjects were eft-soons brought again under an usurped foreign Power and Authority, and yet do remain in that Bondage, to the intolerable Charges of your loving Subjects, if some Redress (by the Authority of this your High Court of Parliament with the Assent of your Highness) be not had and provided. May it therefore please your Highness, for the Repressing of the said usurped foreign Power, and the Restoring of the Rights, Jurisdictions, and Pre-eminences appertaining to the Imperial Crown of this your Realm, that it may be enacted by the Authority of this present Parliament, *&c.* And then it proceeds to repeal the said Act of *Philip* and *Mary*, and revives the former Statutes of King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI; abolishing all usurped foreign Powers and Authorities; and restoreth and uniteth all Jurisdictions, Privileges,

leges, Superiorities, and Pre-eminences, ſpiritual and eccleſiaſtical, to the imperial Crown of this Realm.

This Statute doing Right to the Queen and her Succeſſors, ever ſince, as, in temporal Cauſes, the Kings of *England*, by the Mouths of their Judges, in the Courts of Juſtice, have judged and determined the ſame by the temporal Laws of *England*; ſo, in all eccleſiaſtical and ſpiritual Cauſes, (as Blaſphemy, Apoſtaſy from Chriſtianity, Hereſy, Schiſm, Ordering of Admiſſions, and Inſtitution of Clerks, Celebration of Divine Service, Rites of Matrimony, Divorces, Baſtardy, Subtraction and Right of Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Dilapidations, Reparation of Churches, Probate of Wills and Teſtaments, Adminiſtrations and Accounts upon the ſame, Simony, Fornication, Inceſt, Adulteries, Sollicitation of Chaſtity, Appeals in eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, Commutation of Penance, Penſions, Procurations, *&c.)* the Cogniſance of all which belongs not to the Common Law; but the Determination, and Deciſion of the ſame, hath been by eccleſiaſtical Judges, according to the King's eccleſiaſtical Laws of this his Realm.

Eccleſiaſtical Cauſes Stat. de circumſpecte agatis 13 Edward I. Articuli Cleri, 9 Edward II. Fitz. Nat. Brev. 41, 42. 43, &c.

And although the ſaid Stat. 1 of *Elizabeth* declares how, and by whom, the King may appoint the ſame to be done; yet (as is intimated before) the King by Law may do the ſame, although that Statute had not been made: and hence it was, that *Stephen Gardiner*,

diner, the noted Bishop of *Winchester*, in his Oration *De vera Obedientia*, once said, That, by the Parliament's styling of King *Henry* VIII. Head of the Church, it was no new invented Matter wrought; only their Mind was to have the Power pertaining to a Prince by God's Law to be more clearly expressed by this emphatical Compellation. And certainly this was the Ground of that Answer, which King *James* gave to the non-conforming Divines, at the Conference at *Hampton-Court*, upon the seven and thirtieth Article of the Church of *England*; the said Divines urging, that these Words in the Article, *viz.* The Bishop of *Rome* hath no Authority in this Land, were not sufficient, unless it was added, nor ought to have; to which the King, being somewhat moved, roundly replied, What speak you of the Pope's Authority here? *Habemus Jure quod habemus*, and therefore, inasmuch as it is said, He hath not, it is plain and certain enough that he ought not to have.

Significantiori Vocabulo competentem Principi Jure Divino Potestatem exprimi clarius voluerunt.

Confer. at Hampt. Court fo. 37.

Nor is this Authority united to the Crown of *England* only, but of Right also to all other *Christian* Crowns, and accordingly avowed by all other *Christian* Princes. And to this Purpose I could multiply the Suffrages of many ancient Fathers and Doctors of the Church; but, my Aim being rather a Matter of Fact, I will forbear the Particularising the explicit Judgments and Declarations of those devout and just Men, who were as careful, in its Degree and Proportion,

portion to *give unto Cæſar the Things that are Cæſar's, as to God the Things that are God's.* But for the Matter of Practice: And, in the firſt Place, here I cannot but take Notice, That, in the firſt Ages of *Chriſtianity*, Religion did not only ſubſiſt, but ſpread by immediate Influence from Heaven only; but when by Virtue of the ſame Influence it had once prevailed and triumphed over all Oppoſitions of *Pagan* Superſtition and Perſecution, and ſubdued the Emperors themſelves, and became the Imperial Religion; then eccleſiaſtical Authority aſſumed, and fixed itſelf in its natural and proper Place; and the Exerciſe of its Juriſdiction (and what that was I ſhall ſhew alſo) was reſtored to the imperial *Diadem*: and *Conſtantine* was no ſooner ſettled in his imperial Throne, but he took the Settlement of all eccleſiaſtical Matters into his Care and Cogniſance; he called Synods and Councils, and ratified their Canons into Laws; he routed the Conventicles of the *Donatiſts*; made Edicts concerning Feſtivals, the Rites of Sepulture, the Immunities of Churches, the Authority of Biſhops, the Privileges of the Clergy, with divers other Things relating to the outward Polity of the Church: in which Affair he was careſully followed by his Succeſſors, as evidently may appear to all converſant in the Civil Law. And the aforeſaid *Stephen Gardiner*, in that his notable Oration of true Obedience, gives an Inſtance in the *Roman* Emperor *Juſtinian*, who,

who, with the Approbation of all the World, at that Time, set forth those Laws of the most Blessed Trinity, the Catholic Faith, of Bishops, and Clergymen, and the like. The like also appears by the most famous *Partidas*, set forth by *Ferdinando* the Saint, and his Son *Alphonso*, for the ancient Kingdoms of *Castile*, *Toledo*, *Leon*, and others of *Spain*, celebrated in the *Spanish* Histories: correspondent to which also hath been the Practice of the Kingdom of *France*, whose Kings have ever been esteemed, in some Sense, the Heads of their Church; and this is the Reason, that Opening of their most ancient Councils, under the first and second (the *Merovingian* and *Caroline*) Lines, was ever by the Power and Authority, and sometimes the Presidency, of their Kings and Princes; it being a noted Saying in one of their Councils, *Cognoscant Principes Seculi se Deo debere Rationem propter Ecclesiam quam à Deo tuendam accipiunt.* And, according to this Doctrine, are all those Capitulars, or mixed Laws, for Matters of Church, or State, of *Charles* the *Great*, *Ludovicus Pius*, *Lewis le Gros*, *Pepin*, and others, collected by the *French* Antiquaries. And, at this Day generally, amongst the Lawyers, and most learned of the *French* Nation, it is held and declared, That the Bishop of *Rome* was anciently the first and chiefest Bishop, according to the Dignity of Precedency and Order; not by any Divine Institution, but because *Rome* was the chief

Justiniani Factum, qui Leges edidit de Trinitate, de Fide Catholica, &c. Steph. Wint. Orat. fo. 19.

Lew. Turquet Hist. of Spain.

Concil. Parisiens. 6. lib. 2. cap. 2.

Cod. Leg. antiq. Gall. fo. 827. Lindenbrog.

Vid. le Review de le Council de Trent. Borel. lib. 4. de Decret. Eccl. Gall.

chief City of the Empire: That he obtained this Primacy over the Weſtern Church by the Grace and Gift of *Pepin*, *Charles* the Great, and other Kings of *France*; and that he hath no Power to diſpoſe of temporal Things: That it belongs to *Chriſtian* Kings and Princes to call Eccleſiaſtical *Synods*; to eſtabliſh their Decrees; to make wholeſome Laws, for the Government of the Church; and to puniſh and reform Abuſes therein: That the Laws, whereby their Church is to be governed, are only the Canons of the more ancient Councils, and their own national Conſtitutions; and not the Extravagants and Decretals of the Biſhop, or Court of *Rome*: That the Council of *Conſtance*, aſſembled by *Sigiſmund* the Emperor, with the concurrent Conſent of other *Chriſtian* Princes, decreeing a General Synod, or Council, to be ſuperior to the Pope, and correcting many Abuſes in the *Roman* Church, which yet remain in Practice, was a true Oecumenical Council; as alſo was the Council of *Baſil*: That the Aſſembly of *Trent* was no lawful Council, and the Canons thereof rather to be eſteemed the Decrees of the Popes, who called and continued it, than the Decrees of the Council itſelf; and that in Regard the Number of Biſhops there met was but ſmall, bearing no Proportion to the Import of a General Council; as alſo the greateſt Part of thoſe preſent were *Italians*, and Vaſſals to the Pope; and nothing there reſolved on, but what was

before

before determined at *Rome*; which then occasioned this infamous By-word, That the Holy Ghost was carried in Cloak-bags, every Post, from *Rome* to *Trent*: That the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper ought to be administered under both Kinds: And that, at the least, a great Part of Divine Service ought to be performed in the vulgar Tongue. Thus far the *French*, and

Many like Instances might here be added to the same Purpose; but yet, under Favour, all Crowns imperial must give Place, in Regard of this one Flower, or Jewel of ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, to the Crown of *England*; for as the first *Christian* King, that ever the World saw, is recorded to have been of this Island, the renowned *Lucius*; so is he intimated to be the first that ever exercised ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, being directed thereunto by Pope *Eleutherius*, to fetch his Laws, by the Advice of his Council, out of the Old and New Testament, and by the same to govern his Kingdom, wherein he was God's Vicar. According to this Advice, the *British*, *Saxon*, *Danish*, and first Kings of the *Normans*, have governed their Churches, and Church-men, as may appear by the Laws by them for that Purpose made, and lately exhibited to the Public by Mr. *Lambard*, Mr. *Selden*, Dr. *Powell*, and others. Neither can any Ecclesiastical Canons, for the Government of the *English* Church, be produced, till long after the Conquest, which were not either originally promulged,

Vid. Eleuth. Epist.

Archaionom. Analect. Angl. Brit. lib. 1, 2. Hist. Cambr. fo. 59. Jo. Brompton, &c.

promulged, or afterwards allowed, either by the Monarch, or ſome King of the Heptarchy, ſitting, or directing, in the National or Provincial Synod. Nay, in the after uſurping Times, there is to be ſeen the Tranſcript of a Record *An.* 3 *Henry* II, wherein when the Biſhop of *Chicheſter* oppoſed ſome Canons againſt the King's Exemption of the Abbey of *Battel* from Epiſcopal Juriſdiction; the King in Anger replied, *Tu pro Papæ Authoritate ab Hominibus conceſſa, contra Dignitatum Regalium Authoritates mihi a Deo conceſſas, Calliditate arguta niti præcogitas?* Doſt thou go about, by Subtlety of Wit, to oppoſe the Pope's Authority, granted by the Conniva nce of Men, againſt the Authority of my regal Dignity, given by God himſelf? And thereupon requires Reaſon and Juſtice againſt the Biſhop for his Inſolence. And thus it is moſt eaſily demonſtrable, that the Kings of *England* have had theſe Flowers of eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction planted in the imperial Crown of this Realm, even from the very Beginning of the *Chriſtian* Monarchy in this Iſland; where we hope they have now taken ſuch Root, that neither any *Fanatic* Whiſpers at home, nor the Roaring of any *Romiſh* Bulls from abroad, will ever be able to ſhake or blaſt the ſame. And from hence was the Reſolution of our Judges (mentioned before) in the Caſe of *Cawdry*, that the ſaid Statute, made in the firſt Year of the Queen, concerning eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction, was not introductory of a new Law, but declaratory of

Manuſcr. Chronic Abb. de Bello. Vide the like Charter of Exemption to the Abbot of Abingdon, by Kenulphus, in Stanf. pl. Cor. l. 2. fo. 111. b. 1 Hen. VII. fo. 23, 25.

Cook 5. Rep. De Jure Reg. Eccl.

of the old; which appears as well by the Title of the ſaid Act, as by the Body of it, in divers Places; for that *Statute* doth not annex any Juriſdiction to the Crown, but that which in Truth was, or of Right ought to be, by the ancient Laws of this Realm, a Parcel of the King's Juriſdiction.

An Act reſtoring to the Crown the ancient Juriſdiction over the State eccleſiaſtical and Spiritual.

1 Eliz. 1.

Now it is not unknown how from the Root, as it were, of this inherent Authority grow the ſeveral Branches of the ſame; as, that he hath the ſupreme Right of Patronage over all *England*, and all eccleſiaſtical Benefices within the ſame; ſo that, if the immediate Patron preſent not a Clerk in due Time, nor the Ordinary, nor Metropolitan, the Right of Preſentation devolves on the King, and there reſts. He only hath the Patronage of all Biſhoprics, and none can be choſen but by his *Conge d' Eſlire*, and whom he nominates; none can be conſecrated a Biſhop, or take Poſſeſſion of the Revenues of the Biſhopric, without a ſpecial Writ, or Aſſent from the King. The King only calls National or Provincial Synods, and, by his Commiſſioners, or Metropolitans, gives Life to Canons, Orders, Ordinances, and Conſtitutions, relating to the Government and Ceremonies of the Church; for Reformation and Correction of Hereſies, Schiſms, Contempts, *&c.* The King hath Power to pardon the Violation of eccleſiaſtical Laws, to diſpenſe with the Rigour of them, and to regulate all eccleſiaſtical Perſons; as, that a Baſtard may be made a Prieſt; That a Prieſt may hold

Ἐπίσκοπῶν Ἐπισκόπων.

Nullum Tempus occurrit Regi.

Hall's Caſe. Coke 5 Rep.

11 Hen. VII. 12. a.

more Benefices than one; that he may succeed his Father; that he may be non-resident, &c. and, for his Superintendency over the whole Church, the King hath the First-fruits and Tenths of all Ecclesiastical Benefices; and from him lies no Appeal to any foreign Jurisdiction whatsoever.

Neither is it unknown what strange Incroachments and Usurpations have been made upon the fundamental Rights of our Kings by the Popes and Court of *Rome*; and again how strenuously, in all Times, it hath been asserted and vindicated by the Kings and People of *England*; the Papal Dominion rising and falling here, according to the Quality of the Times, and the Measures of Resistance which it met with. And evident it is also by what Means this foreign Dominion came to be owned here; for in the Empire the Bishops of *Rome* usurped one Half of the imperial Power, and annexed the ecclesiastical Jurisdiction and Supremacy to their own See; for, taking Advantage of the public Distractions occasioned partly by the Incursions of the Barbarians on the North and East Parts, and chiefly by the Divisions of the Empire itself, and by some Opportunities of serving some weak and vicious Emperors in their unworthy Purposes, they gained, at last, by Force, or Fraud, the whole Dominion of Religion to themselves; and, by pretending to the Spirit of Infallibility, they usurped an absolute Empire over the Faith and Consciences of Men,

Men, which yet they could not maintain without the continual disdained Affronts to the Princes of *Christendom*. The last of those reduced under this Yoke were the Kings of this Island; and for which there were not Arts enough wanting: As, by making a bad Use of innocent and good Meanings, and improving the Humility of others for an advantageous Step whereon to mount itself; for, when Religion came to a Consistency here, the Bishop of *Rome* was greatly reverenced by the *Christians* of this Island, as one that was the Primate of one of the then most glorious Churches in the World, Patriarch of the West, and residing in a City famous for Arts and Learning, and the Seat of the Empire; and then the Fame of this eminent Bishop (*crescens eundo*, and *majora credi de absentibus*, as *Tacitus* speaks) acquired a mighty Reverence for him in these remoter Parts. Though the devout *Britons*, who received more probably their first Conversion from *Asia*, applied themselves chiefly to *Judæa*, as a Place of the greatest Sanctity; yet, amongst the *Saxons*, for the Reasons aforesaid, *Romam adire magnæ Virtutis æstimabatur*, as *venerable Bede* hath it; but as this was, on their Part, no other than as to a great Doctor, or Prelate, from whose Countenance, and Assistance they hoped for great Advantages; so those Instructions they received from *Rome* were not as coming from one that had Dominion over their Faith; the one Side not at all giving, nor the other assuming,

Tacit. Hist. lib. 2.

Bedæ Hist. lib. 4 cap. 23.

more Respect, than what was decent and fit out of Charity, Reverence, and *Christian* Affection, each unto the other. And therefore it is observable, in that famous Transaction of the Kingdom of *France*, about the Deposing of *Childeric*, and Setting up of *Pepin* in his Room; which some have contended to have been done by the Pope's Authority: The Truth is, *Childeric* was set aside by the Peers of *France*, for a Fool, or Frantic; and *Pepin*, stepping up, applied himself to the then Pope *Zachary*, to confirm, not to confer, his new-obtained Kingdom; for, in those Days, they gave no such Power, neither did Pope *Zachary* claim it. Only, that such an extraordinary Action might carry the better Face in the World, it was thought requisite to have the Suffrage of so grave an Oracle; and therefore *Baronius* confesses, and that you will say is much, *Francos non Zachariæ paruisse Decreto, sed acquievisse Consilio*; and there is great Difference between an authoritative Injunction, and a prudential Advice, which is only an Answer out of Discretion, and left to Discretion and so can imply no Obligation at all. And *Sabellicus* relates it thus, That the Peers of *France* deposed *Childeric*, and set up *Pepin* in his Stead, *Romano Pontifice consulto*; whence this Gloss upon one of their Laws, *Papa deposuit, id est, deponentibus consensit*. But enough of this.

Platina in Vita Zach. I. Spondan. in eod.

Mente stupidus, & Vitâ ignavus. Paul. Æmil.

Baron. Annal.

Sabell. Ennead. 8. lib. 8.

But certain it is, that, by one Way or other, the Papal Dominion arrived to a great Height in

in the World, and particularly in this Island, in after Times; and then the former Addresses of the *Christians* of this Island to the Bishop of *Rome* were made Use of, as Notes and Evidences of Subjection; and what had passed, by the Pope's Advice and Counsel only, was afterwards said to have been done by his Authority; and so the Ordering and Determining of ecclesiastical Affairs was endeavoured to be drawn to a foreign Judicature, to the apparent Prejudice and Diminution, as well of the Rights of the Crown, as of this Church. And therefore in this Case it fared with our Ancestors, as with her in the Tragedy:

Quisquis in primo obstitit
Repulitq; Amorem, tutus ac Victor fuit.
Qui blandiendo dulce nutrivit Malum,
Sero recusat ferre, quod subiit, Jugum.

Senec. Trag. Hippolyt.

But, notwithstanding the infinite subtle Arts and mighty Efforts for that Purpose, the Papacy found it, at any Time, a most difficult Thing to carry any Thing here by a high Hand, and to bring the ecclesiastical State of this Nation to depend on *Rome*; for our Princes never did doubt but they had the same Authority, within their own Dominions, as *Constantine* had in the Empire; and our Bishops the same as St. *Peter*'s Successors in the Church: *Ego Constantini, Vos Petri Gladium habetis in Manibus*, said King *Edgar*, in an eminent Speech unto his Clergy. And what Power in the Church our Kings

Ailred. Rival. Coll. 361. 16.

took themſelves anciently to have appears by their Laws, and Edicts, publiſhed by themſelves, and acknowledged by their Subjects; all ſpeaking thus, That the Ordering and Diſpoſition of all eccleſiaſtical Affairs, within their own Dominions, was their ſole and undoubted Right, the Foundation thereof being that Power which the Divine Wiſdom hath inveſted the Secular Magiſtrate with, for the Defence and Preſervation of his Church and People againſt all Attempts whatſoever. And all our Laws and Lawyers concur in this, *That the King of* England *is ſubject to no Power on Earth, but to God only*; and in King *Edward*'s Laws he is called *Vicarius ſummi Regis*, as alſo in *Bracton*; that being the *Cognomen*, as it were, given by Pope *Eleutherius*, long ago, to King *Lucius* here, as not being under the Power of any other. And this in Effect was acknowledged by the whole Body of the *Engliſh* Clergy, in a Letter of the Biſhops of the Province of *Canterbury* to *Thomas Becket*, *An. D.* 1167, as it ſtands recorded at large by *Roger Hoveden*.

Leg. Elv. Confeſſ. cap. 17 fol. 142. Leg. Canut. & Inæ, apud. Jornal. Matt. Paris, p. 2.

Rex ſub nullo niſi tantum ſub Deo. Bracton. Leg. Sanct. Edw. cap. 19. 17.

Rog. Hoveden in Hen. II. par. poſt. fo. 510.

To this it will be but ſeaſonable and pertinent to add the hiſtorical Inſtances and Evidences; ſome of them that occur not only demonſtrate the continual Claim, and, when they could, the Exerciſe of this Right by the Kings of this Iſland; but likewiſe the worthy Reſiſtances that, from Time to Time, have been made againſt all foreign Uſurpations and Incroachments upon the ſame; ſufficient to ſhew, that our Princes did not command

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the Eccleſiaſtics here, who made up ſo great a Part of their Subjects, according to the Will and Pleaſure of any foreign Potentate; nor that they were only Lookers-on, whilſt others governed the *Engliſh* Church. Therefore we may obſerve.

All Councils and Convocations aſſembled, at the King's Appointment, and by the King's Writ, *Jubente & præſente Rege*, as one ſays; and that upon the ſame Authority as the Emperor *Conſtantine* had, long before, aſſembled the Council of *Nice*.

Eadmer. fo. 25. 5. 11. Florent. Wigorn. An. 1300 fo. 434. Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. 19.

Some were appointed by the King to ſit in thoſe Councils, and ſuperviſe their Actions, *ne ibi contra Coronam & Dignitatem aliquid ſtatuere attentarent*. And *Matthew Paris* gives us the Names of the Commiſſioners for that Purpoſe, in one of the Councils held in the Time of King *Henry* III. And, when any did otherwiſe, he was forced to retract ſuch Conſtitutions, as did *Peckham*; or they were but, *in paucis, ſervatæ*, as were thoſe of *Boniface*, as *Lyndwood* ingenuouſly doth acknowledge.

Matt. Paris ad An. 1237, fo. 447.

Lyndw. de Foro competent. cap. 1.

No Synodical Decree ſuffered to be of Force, but by the King's Allowance and Confirmation. *In hoc Concilio, ad Emendationem Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, Aſſenſu Domini Regis, & Primorum omnium Regni, hæc ſubſcripta promulgata ſunt Capitula*, as *Gervaſius Doroberniensis*, informs us.

Eadmer. fo. 6. 29. Gervaſ. Dorobern. An. 1175, fo. 1429. Matt. Paris. Hen. Huntingd. Eadm. paſſim. Pat. 8. & 9 Johan. R. m. 5. 8.

No *Legate* ſuffered to enter into *England*, but by the King's Leave, and ſwearing to do nothing prejudicial to the King and his Crown.

Eadmer. 115. 23.

All Matters of Episcopacy determined by the King himself, *inconsulto Romano Pontifice*.

No Appeals to *Rome* permitted.

Thorn. Coll. 2152. Coke 3 Instit. cap. 54. fo. 127. Hoveden. Hen. II. fo. 496.

None to receive Letters from the Pope, without shewing them to the King, who caused all Words prejudicial to him, or his Crown, to be renounced and disavowed by the Bringers, or Receivers, of such Letters.

Eadmer, fo. 6. 31.

Permitted no Bishops to excommunicate, or inflict any Ecclesiastical Censure on any Peer, *nisi ejus Præcepto*.

Addit. Matt. Paris, fo. 200.

Caused the Bishops to appear in their Courts, to give Account why they excommunicated a Subject.

Florent. Wigorn. An. 1070, fo. 536.

Bestowed Bishoprics on such as they approved, and translated Bishops from one See to another.

Godwin de Præs. Angl.

Erected new Bishoprics: So did King *Henry* I, *An.* 1109, *Ely*, taking it out of *Lincoln*; *Carlisle*, in 1133, out of *York*, or rather *Durham*.

Coke 2. Instit. 625. Addit. Matt. Paris, fo. 200. num. 6.

Commanded, by Writ, the Bishops to Residency.

Placed, by a Lay-hand, Clerks in Prebendary or Parochial Churches, *Ordinariis penitus irrequisitis*, as it is phrased in *Matthew Paris*.

By these, and many other Instances of the like Nature, exercised by our Kings, it appears that the *English* ever took the outward Policy of this Church, or Government of it, *in Foro exteriori*, to depend on the King; And

and therefore the Writs of Summoning all Parliaments expreſs the Calling of them to be, *Pro quibuſdam arduis, urgentibus Negotiis, nos Statum, & Defenſionem Regni noſtri Angliæ, & Eccleſiæ Anglicanæ, concernentibus*, &c.

In the Reign of King *Edward* I, a Subject brought in a Bull of Excommunication againſt another Subject of this Realm, and publiſhed it to the Lord Treaſurer of *England*; and this was, by the ancient Common Law of *England*, adjudged Treaſon againſt the King, his Crown, and Dignity; for which the Offender ſhould have been drawn and hanged; but, at the great Inſtance of the Chancellor and Treaſurer, he only abjured the Realm. Brook Tit. Præmunire, p. 10.

King *Edward* preſented his Clerk to a Benefice, within the Province of *York*, who was refuſed by the Archbiſhop, for that the Pope, by Way of Proviſion, had conferred it on another. The King hereupon brought a *Quare non admiſit*; the Archbiſhop pleaded to it, that the Biſhop of *Rome* had, a long Time before, provided to the ſaid Church, as one having ſupreme Authority in that Caſe; and that he durſt not, nor had Power to put him out, who was poſſeſſed by the Pope's Bull. But, for this high Contempt againſt the King, his Crown and Dignity, in refuſing to execute his Sovereign's Commands againſt the Pope's Proviſion, by Judgment of the Common Law, the Lands of his whole Biſhopric were ſeized into the Tri. 19 Edw. III. Fitzh. Quare non admiſit, p. 7.

King's

King's Hands, and loſt, during his Life. And this Judgment was before any Act of Parliament made in that Caſe. And there it is ſaid, That, for the like Offence, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* had been in a worſe Caſe, by the Judgment of the Sages in the Law, if the King had not extended Favour to him.

Nota.

Although, by the Ordinance of *Circumſpecte agatis*, made in the thirteenth Year of King *Edward* I, and by a general Allowance and Uſage, the Eccleſiaſtical Court held Plea of Tithes, Oblations, Obventions, Mortuaries, Redemption of Penance, Laying of violent Hands on a Clerk, Defamations, *&c.* yet did not the Clergy think themſelves aſſured, nor quiet from Prohibitions purchaſed by Subjects, till King *Edward* II, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal, in and by the Conſent of Parliament; upon Petition of the Clergy, had granted them Juriſdiction in thoſe Caſes.

Coke 5 Rep. Caſe Jure R. Eccl.

Stat. 9. Ed. II. Artic. Cler. cap. 16.

An Excommunication by the Archbiſhop, although it be diſannulled by the Pope, or Legate, is to be allowed; neither may the Judges give any Allowance of any ſuch ſentence of the Pope or his Legate; and it hath often been adjudged and declared, That the Pope's Excommunication is of no Force in *England*.

Fitzh. Excom. 4. 16 Ed. III. Brook Excom. p. 5. 14 Hen. IV.

30 Ed. III. Lib. Aſſiz. p. 19. 12 Ed. IV. 16.

It is often reſolved in our Books, that all the Biſhoprics in *England* were founded by the King's Progenitors, and the Advowſons

Advowſons of them all belong to the King, and at firſt they were * Donative; and that, if an Incumbent of any Church with a Cure dies, if the Patron preſent not within ſix Months, the Biſhop of that Dioceſe ought to collate, that the Cure be ſupplied: if he neglect for the Space of ſix Months, the Metropolitan of that Dioceſe ſhall confer one unto that Church; and, if he alſo neglect ſix Months, then the Law gives to the King, as ſupreme, within his own Kingdom, and not to the Pope, Power to provide a Paſtor.

* Per Traditionem Annuli & paſtoralis Baculi.

The King may not only exempt any eccleſiaſtical Perſon from the Juriſdiction of the Ordinary, but may grant unto him epiſcopal Juriſdiction, as it appears the King had done, of ancient Time, to he Archdeacon of *Richmond*; and the Abbot of *Bury* was exempted from epiſcopal Juriſdiction by the King's Charter.

17 Ed. III. 13.
20 Ed. III.

The King preſented to a Benefice, and his Preſentee was diſturbed by one that had obtained Bulls from *Rome*; for which Offence he was condemned to perpetual Impriſonment.

21 Ed. III. 40.

If Excommunication be the final End of any Suit in the Court of *Rome*, as indeed it is; and be not allowed, or allowable, in *England*, as it hath often been declared; it then follows, that, by the ancient Common Law of *England*, no Suit for any Cauſe, though it be ſpiritual, ariſing within this Realm, may or can be determined in the

Fitzh. Nat. Brev. fo. 64. f.

Court

Court of *Rome*: *Quia frustra expectatus Eventus, cujus Effectus nullus sequitur.*

Stat. 15 Ed. III. de Provisoribus

At a Parliament held *An.* 25 *Edward* III, It was enacted, That as well as they that obtained Provisions from *Rome*, as they put them in Execution, should be out of the King's Protection; and that they should be dealt withal, as the King's Enemies, and no Man, so dealing with them, should be impeached for the same.

Stat. 16 Ric. II. cap. 5.

At a Parliament held *An.* 16. *Richard* II, it is declared, That the Crown of *England* hath been so free at all Times, that it hath been in Subjection to none, but immediately subject to God, and none other; and that the same ought not, in any Thing touching the Regality of the said Crown, to be submitted to the Bishop of *Rome*; nor the Laws and Statutes of this Realm by him frustrated, or defeated, at his Will. And the Commons in that Parliament affirmed, that the Things, attempted by the Bishop of *Rome*, be clearly against the King's Crown and his Regality, used and approved in the Time of all his Progenitors, in which Points the said Commons professed to live and die; and to all which the Lords assented also, as being thereto bound by their Allegiances.

2 Hen. IV. fo. 9.

It is resolved that the Pope's Collector, though he have the Pope's Bull for that Purpose, hath no Authority within this Realm; and there it is said, That the Archbishops and Bishops of this Realm are the King's spiritual Judges; and in another Place it is said,

said, *Papa non potest mutare Leges Angliæ : Per Curiam.* 11 Hen. IV. fo. 37.

In the Reign of King *Henry* VI, the Pope wrote Letters, in Derogation of the King and his Regality ; and the Church-men durst not speak any thing against them : But *Humfrey*, Duke of *Gloucester*, for their safe Keeping, put them into the Fire. 1 Hen. VII. fo. 10.

In the Reign of King *Edward* IV, the Pope granted to the Prior of St. *John*'s to have a Sanctuary in his Priory ; and this was pleaded, and claimed by the Prior ; but resolved by the Judges, That the Pope had no Power to grant any Sanctuary, within his Realm, and therefore the same was disallowed by Judgment of Law. 1 Hen. VII. fo. 20. Keilway's Reports, 8 Hen. VIII. fo. 191. b.

In *Brook Tit. Presentation al Eglise*, it is affirmed, That the Pope was permitted to do certain Things within this Realm by Usurpation, and not of Right, until the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, *quod nota*, says the Book. And in what Esteem the Pope's Authority here was, in that King's Time, may sufficiently be collected from the Tenor and Purport of the Statute, about that Affair, in his Reign made. Brook Present. al Eglese, p. 12. Stat. 24 Hen. VIII. cap. 12. 25 Hen. VIII. 21.

In the Reign of King *Henry* VI, *Henry Beaufort*, Uncle to the King, being Bishop of *Winchester*, was made Cardinal, and thereupon purchased from the Pope a Bull declaratory, that he might still hold his Bishopric ; yet it was held and adjudged, that the See of *Winchester* was become void by the Assumption of the Cardinal-

ſhip, and therefore the Cardinals fallen into a *Præmunire*, for which he was glad to purchaſe his Pardon, as by the Records of all this it doth appear.

4 Hen. VI. in Arch. Turr. Lond.

Dyer, 12 Eliz.

It was adjudged, in the Court of *Common Pleas*, by Sir *James Dyer*, *Weſton*, and the whole Court, That a Dean, or any other eccleſiaſtical Perſon, may reſign, as divers did to King *Edward* VI, for that he had the Authority of the ſupreme Ordinary.

Vid. Grendca, in Plowd. Com.

With all this may be noted, alſo, the ſeveral Statutes heretofore made againſt the Uſurpations of the Biſhops of *Rome* in this Kingdom, the principal whereof are theſe, *viz.* Stat. 25. *Ed.* III. *de Proviſoribus*. Stat. 27 &28 *Ed.* III. Cap. 1, 2. Stat. 38. *Ed.* III. Cap. 3. Stat. 16 *Ric.* II. Cap. 5. Stat. 2 *Hen.* IV. Cap. 3. Stat. 6 *Hen.* IV. Cap. 1. Stat. 7. *Hen.* VII. Cap. 6. Stat. 3 *Hen.* V. Cap. 4. Stat. 1 *Hen.* VII. Cap. 4. Stat. 24 *Hen.* VIII. Cap. 12. Stat. 25 *Hen.* VIII. Cap. 21. Stat. 1 *Eliz.* Cap. 1, *&c.* By all which, with the foregoing Reſolutions and Precedents, to which a Multitude more, to the ſame Purpoſe, might be added, it doth appear clearly, that, long before the Time of King *Hen.* VIII, divers Statutes and Laws were made and declared againſt foreign Incroachments upon the Rights of the Crown in this Matter; and thoſe, as ſharp and ſevere as any Statutes for that Purpoſe have been made in latter Times, though then both King, Lords, and Commons, that

Statutes of Proviſors and Præmunire.

that made those Laws, and the Judges that did interpret them, did, for the most Part, follow the same Opinions in Religion which were held and taught in the Church of *Rome*. And therefore those that will lay upon this Nation the Imputation of Schism, for Denying the Pope's Supremacy here, must charge it many Ages before the Time of King *Henry* VIII; for the Kings, Lords, and Commons of this Realm have ever been most eminent for asserting their just Rights and Liberties, disdaining to become a tributary Province, as it were, to the See of *Rome*, or Part of St. *Peter*'s earthly Patrimony in *Demesn*. And the Faith and Loyalty of the *English* Race hath been generally such, (though it is true that every Age hath brought forth some singular Monsters of Disloyalty) as no Pretence of Zeal, or Religion, could ever draw the greater Part of the Subjects to submit themselves to a foreign Yoke; no, not when Popery was in its greatest Height and Exaltation. Of all this the aforesaid Statutes are manifest Evidences, being generally made, at the Prayer of the Commons, as by their Preambles may appear, most worthy to be read; particularly, in the Preamble to the Statute of 16 *Ric*. II, they complain, That, by Bulls and Processes from *Rome*, the King is deprived of that Jurisdiction which belongs of Right to his imperial Crown: That the King doth lose the Service and Counsel of his Prelates and learned Men

Vid. Case de Premunire, in Sir John Davys's Rep.

Stat. 16 Ric. II. cap. 5.

by Tranſlations made by the Biſhop of *Rome*: That the King's Laws are defeated at his Will, the Treaſure of the Realm is exhauſted, and exported to inrich his Court: And that, by thoſe Means, the Crown of *England*, which hath ever been free, and ſubject unto none, but immediately unto God, ſhould be ſubmitted unto the Biſhop of *Rome*, to the utter Deſtruction of the King and the whole Realm, which God defend, ſay they; and thereupon, out of their Zeal and Loyalty, they offer to live and die with the King, in Defence of the Liberties of the Crown: And then they pray the King to examine all the Lords in Parliament, what they thought of theſe Wrongs and Uſurpations, and whether they would ſtand with the King in Defence of his royal Liberties; which being done, the Lords ſpiritual and temporal did all anſwer, that theſe Uſurpations of the Biſhop of *Rome* were againſt the Liberties of the Crown, and that they were all bound by their Allegiance to ſtand with the King, and to maintain his Honour and Prerogative.

Upon Producing and Averment of all this, it is requiſite ſome Satisfaction be given about the Concluſion, that happened ſo different from theſe Premiſes; for, if the Kings and People of *England* have, in all Times, been ſo ſenſible of, and zealous for, their juſt Rights, how could the *Roman* Power, in Derogation of thoſe Rights, arrive to ſuch a Conſiſtence and Height, as here it was for

many

many Years? To this, as to the Means and Manner of that Acquiſt, to keep within our Hiſtorical Compaſs, firſt, let it be premiſed, as undoubtedly true, That, before the Time of the *Norman* Conqueſt, the Biſhops of *Rome* had very little, or nothing, to do here, as well in Matter of Fact, as of Right; for, before that Time, the Pope's Writ did not run in *England*; his Bulls of Excommunication and Proviſion came not hither; no Citations, or Appeals, were made from hence to the Court of *Rome*; our Archbiſhops did not purchaſe their Palls there; neither had the Pope the Inveſtiture of any of our Biſhoprics; and *Ingulphus*, who lived in the Conqueror's Time, a Favourite, and one preferred by him, thus informs us: *A multis namque Annis retroactis nulla Electio Prælatorum erat libera mere & canonica, ſed omnes Dignitates tam Epiſcoporum quam Abbatum per Annulum & Baculum Regis Curia pro ſua Complacentia conferebat.* For as it is obſervable, that, under the temporal Empire of *Rome*, *Britain* was one of the laſt Provinces that was won, and one of the firſt that was loſt again: So, under the ſpiritual Empire of the Pope, *England* was one of the laſt Countries of *Chriſtendom* that received the Yoke, and one of the firſt that caſt it off. But, for our Purpoſe, that the Biſhops of *Rome* had any Juriſdiction, or hierarchical Authority, in the Times of the *Britons*, *Saxons*, or *Danes*, there is an *altum Silentium* in all

Ingulph. Hiſt. fo. 901.

our Hiſtories and Records; for the Times of the *Britons*, *Eleutherius*, Pope, about 180 Years after *Chriſt*, writes to *Lucius* the *Britiſh* King, and ſtyles him God's Vicar within his own Kingdom; and ſure he would not have given that Title to the King, if himſelf, under Pretence of being God's Vicar-General on Earth, had he claimed Juriſdiction over all *Chriſtian* Kingdoms.

Eleuth. Epiſt.

After that, about the Year 600, *Auſtin*, the Monk, was ſent by Pope *Gregory* into *England*, to convert the *Saxons* to the *Chriſtian* Faith; but the *Britiſh* Biſhops, then reſiding in *Wales*, gave no Regard either to his Commiſſion, or his Doctrines, as not owing any Duty to, or Dependance upon, *Rome*; but ſtill retained their Ceremonies, and Traditions which they received from the Eaſt Church, upon the firſt Plantation of *Chriſtianity*, being both divers and contrary to thoſe of the Church of *Rome*, which *Auſtin* did endeavour to impoſe upon them. Then, about the Year 660, there is a famous Diſputation celebrated between one *Colman*, and one *Wilfrid*, touching the Obſervation of *Eaſter*, wherein the *Britons* differed from the Practice of the *Roman* Church; from which it is plainly inferrable, that the Authority of the Biſhop of *Rome* was, at that Time, of no Eſtimation in this *Iſland*; and that the Primitive Churches of *Britain* were inſtituted according to the Form of the Eaſt, and not of the Weſt Church. Nay, upon the firſt Coming of

Bedæ Eccl. Hiſt. Matt. Weſtm. Polychron. Fab. Huntingd. &c.

Uſſer. de Prim. Eccl. Brit.

Auſtin

Austin and his Retinue into *Britain*, there was such a Strangeness and Aversion to him, that, one *Daganus*, a *British* or *Scottish* Bishop, happening into their Company, he would neither eat with them, nor under the same Roof where they were; as *Mellitus*, *Laurentius*, and *Justus* complained, in an Epistle of theirs to the *Scots* Bishops.

Bedæ Eccl. Hist. lib. 2. cap. 4. Spelm. Concil. Tom. 1. fo. 129.

For the *Saxons*, though King *Ina*, or some other, gave the *Peter-pence*, partly as Alms, and partly in Recompence of a House erected in *Rome* for the Entertaiment of *English* Pilgrims, yet it is certain that *Alfred*, *Athelstan*, *Edgar*, *Edmund*, *Canutus*, *Edward the Confessor* so called, and divers other Kings of the *Saxon* Race, gave all the Bishoprics of *England*, *per Annulum & Baculum*, without any other Ceremony, or any Application to *Rome*; as was usual for the Emperor, the *French* King, and other *Christian* Princes so to do; as also, in all their Laws for the Government of the Church here, they consulted only with their own Clergy, without any Regard to the Authority of *Rome*. But, under the *Norman* Conquest, the *Papal* Usurpation marched in; for, as the Conqueror came in with the Pope's Banner, so, either by the Way of complimental Gratitude, or Surprise, the Pope presently laid Hold upon Part of the Purchase, as boasting all was gained by his Aid and Blessing. And thereupon he sent two Legates into *England*, favourably received by the *Normans*; by whom a Synod of the Clergy

Larga Regis Benignitas.

Will. Malmlb. de Geſt. Pontif. Angl. lib. 1. fol. 204. Rog. Hoveden Pars prior, fo. 453.

was convened, and old *Stigand*, Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, depoſed, becauſe he had not purchaſed his *Pall* in the Court of *Rome*; and many other Biſhops and Abbots diſplaced, on Suppoſal, for the like Reaſons, of the Invalidity of their Titles but ſpeciouſly to place the *Normans* in their Rooms, or rather ultimately to introduce the *Papal* Authority in Caſes of the Church. Amongſt theſe it is to be noted, that, the King having earneſtly moved the old Biſhop of *Worceſter*, *Wulſtan*, to give up his Staff, his Anſwer was, that he would only give it up to him of whom he firſt received the ſame; and ſo the old Man went to St. *Edward*'s Tomb, and there offered up his Staff and Ring, with theſe Words: *Of thee, O holy* Edward, *I received my Staff and Ring, and to thee I now ſurrender the ſame again*; not acknowledging any Authority in the Pope, or in any other on his Behalf, to receive or diſpoſe them, as *Matthew Paris* relates the Story at large. And though the Conqueror did thus compliment the Pope, in the Admiſſion of his Legates, and ſome other ſmall Matters; yet how far he really ſubmitted himſelf appears by an Epiſtle to *Gregory* VII, by him thus written: *Excellentiſſimo S. Eccl. Paſtori Gregorio, Gratia Dei Anglorum Rex, & Dux Normannorum, Willielmus, Salutem cum Amicitia: Hubertus tuus Legatus, ad me veniens, ex tua Parte me admonuit, ut tibi & Succeſſoribus tuis Fidelitatem facerem, & de Pecunia,*

Matt. Paris Hiſt. in Will. I. fo. 20.

Pecunia, quam Antecessores mei ad Romanam Ecclesiam mittere solebant, melius cogitarem; unum admisi, alterum non admisi; Fidelitatem facere nolui, nec volo, quia nec ego promisi, nec Antecessores meos Antecessoribus tuis id fecisse comperio. Pecunia, tribus fere Annis, in Gallia me agente, negligenter collecta est; nunc vero, divina Misericordia me in Regnum meum reverso, quod collectum est per præfatum Legatum mittetur, & quod reliquum est per Legatos Lanfranci Archiepiscopi fidelis nostri, cum opportunum fuerit, transmittetur, &c.

But, in the Time of his next Successor King *William Rufus*, a farther Attempt was made, that is, to draw Appeals to the Court of *Rome*; and that appears in the noted Transactions with *Anselm* Archbishop of *Canterbury*, at large reported in our Histories. And afterwards, in the Time of King *Henry* I, another Step was made, *viz.* to gain to the Pope the Patronage and Donations of Bishoprics and other Benefices ecclesiastical; at which the King, taking Courage, writes roundly to the Pope thus: *Notum habeat Sanctitas vestra, quod me vivente (Deo auxiliante) Dignitates & Usus Regni nostri non minuentur; &, si ego (quod absit) in tanta me Directione ponerem, Magnates mei, imo totius Angliæ Populus, id nullo modo pateretur.* Notwithstanding which, upon the Regress or Restoring of *Anselm*, and some Difficulties that pressed the King, in Reference to his elder Bro-

Hist. Jorvall. Coll.

Matt. Paris in Hen. I. fo. 63.

ther *Robert*, in a Synod held by *Anselm* at *London*, in the Year 1107, a Decree passed, *Cui annuit Rex Henricus, & statuit*, as *Matthew Paris* saith, *ut ab eo Tempore in reliquum nunquam per Donationem Baculi pastoralis, vel Annuli, quisquam de Episcopatu vel Abbatia per Regem vel quamlibet laicam Manum investiretur in Anglia*, But yet with this Clause of *Salvo, Suis tantum Juribus regalibus sepositis & exceptis*, as appears in the Exemplification of the Acts of that Synod by the learned Collector of our *English* Councils. In Recompence whereof the Pope, that there might be *quid pro quo*, yielded to the King, that thenceforth no Legate should be sent into *England*, without the King's Leave; and that the Archbishop of *Canterbury*, for the Time being, should be, for ever, *Legatus natus*; and, for the Honour of the See, it was obtained, that the Archbishop of *Canterbury* should in all General Councils sit at the Pope's Foot, *tanquam alterius Orbis Papa*. But this Agreement was soon broken on both Sides, the Pope sending his Legates, and the King resuming the Investiture of Bishops, as the same Historian relates, in divers Instances.

Sir Henry Spelm. Concil. Tom. 2. fo. 28.

Matt. Paris, fo. 65.

In the next troublesome Reign of King *Stephen*, it was clearly obtained, that Appeals should be made to the Court of *Rome*; established in a Synod at *London*, held by *Henry* Bishop of *Winchester*, the Pope's Legate; for, before that Time, *In Anglia namque Appellationes in Usu non erant* (as an unquestionable

Spelm. Concil. Tom. 2. fo. 44.

ſtionable Hiſtorian hath it) *donec eas Henricus Wintonienſis, dum Legatus eſſet, Malo ſuo crudeliter intruſit; in eodem namque Concilio ad Romani Pontificis Audientiam ter appellatus eſt.*

Hen. Huntingdon. lib. 8. to. 395.

And, in the Reign of King *Henry* II, began their Claim and Uſage of exempting Clerks from the ſecular Power, whatever their Crimes were; and from this Root ſprang the famous Contention between this King, and his Archbiſhop *Thomas Becket*, together with the Conſtitutions of *Clarendon* for the Rectifying that Abuſe, at large to be read and obſerved in the Hiſtorians of thoſe Times.

To all this it will be but pertinent to ſubjoin a brief Diſquiſition touching the Canon Law, how and by whom compiled, and when introduced into this Iſland; under which, where admitted, no ſmall Part of the *Papal* Authority was neatly and artificially drawn in: for which Purpoſe we muſt know, that, after the Power of the Biſhops of *Rome* came to ſome Conſiſtency in the World, and the Pope began to look upon himſelf as a ſpiritual Prince or Monarch, he preſently began to attempt to give Laws to Nations and People, as a Badge of his Sovereignty; but then, well knowing, that, *ubi non eſt condendi Authoritas, ibi non eſt parendi Neceſſitas*, he would not impoſe thoſe Laws, at firſt, peremptorily upon all People, but offered them *timide* and *precario*, and in ſuch Places where

he presumed they would find the freest Reception; and, in Order to this, at first, he caused certain Rules to be collected for the Order and Government of the Clergy only, which he called *Decreta*, and not Laws, or *Statuta*; and these *Decrees*, as they were called, were first published in the Year 1150, in the Reign of our King *Stephen*: and whereas Sir *Edward Coke*, in the Preface to the eighth Report, says, that *Roger Bacon*, the learned Friar, saith, in his Book *de Impedimentis Sapientiæ*, That King *Stephen* forbad, by a public Edict, that no Man should retain the Laws of *Italy*, then brought into *England*; we may, with some Assurance, intend it of these *Decrees*, about that Time compiled and published. And these were received and observed by the Clergy of the Western Churches only, for those of the Eastern Churches would never admit these Rules or Canons.

Sir Ed. Coke's Pref. ad 8. Relat.

Keilway's Rep. 7 Hen. VIII. fo. 184.

Afterwards the Bishops of *Rome* attempted to bring the Laity also under the Obedience of these Canons; and, for that Purpose, they first began with Rules or Canons about Abstinence, and Days of Fasting, to be observed by the Laity as well as Clergy, which, at the first Institution, were termed by that mild Word *Rogationes*; and thence the Week of Fasting, before the Feast of *Pentecost*, came to be called *Rogation* Week, in Regard this Time of Abstinence was at first appointed by an Ordinance called *Rogatio*, and not *Præceptum*, or *Statutum*.

Marsil. Pat. lib. Defens. Pac. par. 2. cap. 23. Durand. Rat. Dial. 4. c. 6,7.

When

When the Laity had ſwallowed this Ordinance of Faſting, then *De una Præſumptione ad aliam tranſivit Romanus Pontifex*, as *Marſil. Patavienſis* hath it; that is, the Biſhop of *Rome* proceeded to make and publiſh ſeveral other Orders, by the Name of *Decretals*; and theſe were publiſhed about the Year 1230, and made or propoſed to bind all the Laity, as well Princes as their Subjects, in ſeveral Matters relating to their civil and temporal Concerns: as, That no Lay-man ſhould have the Donation of Eccleſiaſtical Benefices: That no Lay-man ſhould marry within certain Degrees, out of the Degrees limited by the *Levitical* Law: That all Infants, born before Eſpouſals, ſhould, after Eſpouſals, be adjudged legitimate and capable to inherit: That all Clerks ſhould be exempt from the ſecular Power; and divers more of the like Sort.

An. 14 Hen. III. Mat. Paris in Hen. III. fo. 417.

But then we muſt know, that theſe *Decretals*, ſo made, were not intirely and abſolutely received in all Parts of *Chriſtendom*, but only, at firſt, in the temporal Territory of the Pope, which, on that Account, is called, by the Canoniſts, *Patria Obedientiæ*; but wholly rejected in *England*, *France*, and other *Chriſtian* Countries, which thence are ſometimes called *Patriæ conſuetudinariæ*, as reſolving to adhere to their old Laws and Cuſtoms; as the Canon, that prohibits Donations of Benefices *per laicam Manum*, was always diſobeyed in *England*, *France*, the Realm of *Naples*, and divers other Countries.

The

The Canon to legitimate Infants born before Marriage was ſpecially rejected in *England*, when, in the Parliament held at *Merton*, *Omnes Comites & Barones una Voce reſponderunt, Nolumus Leges Angliæ mutari, quæ hucuſq; uſitatæ ſunt*, &c. The Canon that exempted Clerks from the ſecular Power was never obſerved fully in any Part of *Chriſtendom*; infallible Arguments, that theſe Canons received not the Force of Laws from the Court of *Rome*, as if that had Power to give Laws to all Nations, without their reſpective Conſents; but the Approbation and Uſage of the People received them as they pleaſed, partially and ſpecially, as to Places, Times, and Parts of thoſe Canons; and, for the ſame Reaſon that ſome rejected one, others did more, and ſome all of them; as *Bodin* ſays, That the Kings of *France*, upon Erecting of their Univerſities there, declare in their Charters, that the Profeſſion of the Civil and Canon Laws may there be received and uſed according to Diſcretion, but not to bind as Laws.

Stat. de Merton. An. 20 Hen. III.

Keilway 7 Hen. VIII. fo. 181. b.

Bodin. de Repub. lib. 1. cap. 8.

Now, when the Biſhop of *Rome* perceived that many of his Canons were embraced in ſeveral Countries, under Colour thereof he claimed eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction within thoſe Realms, with Power to interpret and diſpenſe with his own Canons; and for that Purpoſe ſent his Legates about, with Commiſſions to hear and determine Cauſes according to thoſe Laws, which, upon their firſt Exhibition, as is before noted, he durſt not call Laws, or *Statuta*, *ne committeret Crimen*

Marſil. Pat. ut ſupr. p. 2. cap. 24.

læſæ

læsæ Majestatis in Principes, as *Marsilius Patavienſis* obſerves; who farther ſays, that theſe Canons, inaſmuch as they were made by the Pope, *neque ſunt humanæ Leges, neque divinæ, ſed Documenta quædam & Narrationes.* But, as it is ſaid, when he perceived they were allowed and uſed, in Part, or in Whole, in divers Countries, they were reviſed, digeſted, and compiled into Volumes, and called *Jus Canonicum*; and, being appointed to be read and expounded in public Schools and Univerſities, they were commanded to be obeyed by all under Pain of Excommunication, with a Declaration of the Pope's Power to interpret, abrogate, or diſpenſe with them, at his Pleaſure; and thereupon the Canoniſts ſay, *Papa, in omnibus pure poſitivis, & in quibuſdam ad Jus Divinum pertinentibus, diſpenſare poteſt, quia dicitur omnia Jura habere in Scrinio Pectoris ſui, quantum ad Interpretationem & Diſpenſationem.* Lib. 6. de Conſt. cap. Licet.

In the 25th Year of King *Edward* I, one *Simon*, a Monk of *Walden*, began firſt to read the Canon Law in the Univerſity of *Cambridge*; and, the following Year, it began to be read alſo in the Univerſity of *Oxford*, in the Church of the *Friars Prædicants*; and from that Time got Ground in *England*, being ſometimes admitted, and ſometimes rejected, according to the Ebb, or Flow, of the Papal Intereſt here: but, how really this Canon Law was an Innovation and Uſurpation here, it is ſufficient only to peruſe the Preamble, An. Dom. 1297 Tho. Walſing. and Stow, in hoc Anno.

Stat. 25 Hen. VIII. cap. 21.

to the Statute of Faculties and Dispensations made in the Reign of King *Henry* VIII, to which the Reader is referred.

As another Branch of the Pope's Power, in the Matters aforesaid, we may observe that this Clause, or Words, *(non obstante)* was first invented and used in the Court of *Rome*; whereupon *Marsilius Pataviensis* pronounces a dreadful *Væ* against that Court, for introducing this Clause of *(non obstante)* as being a bad Precedent, and mischievous to all the People of *Christendom*; for, when the temporal Princes perceived the Pope to dispense with his own Canons, they made no Scruple to imitate him, and dispense with their Penal Laws and Statutes: and hereupon one Canonist said thus, *Dispensatio Est Vulnus, quod vulnerat Jus Commune*; and another thus, That all Abuses would be reformed, if these two Words, *viz. non obstante*, did not hinder; and *Matthew Paris*, reciting several Decrees, made in the Council of *Lyons*, beneficial to the Church, says thus: *Sed omnia hæc, & alia, per hoc Repagulum, non obstante, infirmantur.* But now to return.

Vid. le Case de Penal. Stat. in Coke 7. Rep.

Mat. Paris in An. 1245.

We have seen how by several Steps and Gradations it was, after the *Norman* Conquest, that the Court of *Rome* usurped upon the Crown of *England*, in four main Points of Jurisdiction, under four of our Kings, (not immediately succeeding, for of King *William Rufus* the Pope could gain nothing:) *viz.* 1. Upon the Conqueror, by sending Legates, or Commissioners, to hear and determine

mine eccleſiaſtical Cauſes, and other Purpoſes. 2. Upon King *Henry* I, the Donation and Inveſtiture of Biſhoprics and other Benefices. 3. Upon King *Stephen*, in drawing of Appeals to the Court of *Rome*. 4. Upon King *Henry* II, in the Exemption of Clerks from the ſecular Power: all rivetted, and clinched by the new Decrees and Canons, which were continually multiplied and obtruded here; and all this, notwithſtanding the generous Reſiſtances which, at ſeveral Times, were made to all.

Neither would all this ſatisfy, till an intire Surrender of the Crown itſelf was obtained from King *John*, re-granted him again, to hold, in *Fee-Farm* and *Vaſſalage*, of the Court of *Rome*; for it was both before, in, and after this King's Time, that, by the Boldneſs and Activity of Strangers, and Treachery and Puſillanimity of Subjects, co-operating with the Weakneſſes and Neceſſities of Princes, the Papacy arrived to that Height, as to domineer in a moſt intolerable Way, both over the Purſe, the Conſcience, the Regality, and all the moſt weighty Concernments of the Nation.

Now, to redreſs all this, ſome unequal Reſiſtances were at divers Times made: King *Henry* III. was totally borne down, and his Kingdom and Subjects reduced to utter Poverty and Slavery by this Uſurpation. Vid. Mat. Paris in Hen. III. in toto.

After him comes the noble King *Edward* I, who may be truly ſtyled *Vindex Libertatis Anglicanæ*; at his Father's Death, he was abroad

abroad in the Holy Land; but he no ſooner returned and was crowned, than, finding his Kingdom in ſuch a bad Plight, his firſt Work was to put ſome Stop to the Career of Papal Incroachments: For, the Pope having then ſummoned a General Council, he would not ſuffer his Biſhops to repair to it, till he took a ſolemn Oath of them for their Loyalty and good Behaviour: Then, the Pope forbidding the King to War againſt *Scotland*, he ſlights his Prohibition, and proceeds: The Pope demands the Firſt-fruits of eccleſiaſtical Livings, but the King forbids the Payment thereof to him: The Pope ſends forth a general Bull, prohibiting the Clergy to pay Subſidies to temporal Princes, whereupon, a Tenth being granted to the King in Parliament, the Clergy refuſed to pay it; but the King ſeizeth their Temporalities for the Contempt, and obtained Payment, notwithſtanding the Pope's Bull: After this, he made the Statute of *Mortmain*, that the Church might not grow monſtrous in temporal Poſſeſſions: In his Time, one of his Subjects brought in a Bull of Excommunication againſt another, and the King commanded he ſhould be executed as a Traitor according to the ancient Law; but the Chancellor and Treaſurer, on their Knees, begged that he ſhould be only baniſhed: He cauſed Laws to be made againſt bringing in of Bulls of Proviſion and *Breve's* of Citation, and made the firſt Statute againſt Proviſors.

His

His Succeſſor, King *Edward* II, being but a weak Prince, ſuffered the Pope to grow upon him; but then the Peers and People withſtood him all they could, and, when that unhappy King was to be depoſed, amongſt the Articles framed againſt him, one of the moſt heinous was, *That he had given Allowance to the Pope's Bulls.*

After him King *Edward* III, a magnanimous Prince, courageouſly reſiſted the Pope's Incroachments, and cauſed the Statutes againſt Proviſors to be ſeverely put in Execution, and the Biſhops of *Wincheſter* and *Ely*, and Abbot of *Waltham*, to be convicted and puniſhed, for their high Contempts; yet, during the Nonage of King *Richard* II, the Pope's Bulls Breve's, and Legates became very buſy and daring again, whereof the People became ſo ſenſible and impatient, that, upon their ſpecial Prayer, the *Stat.* 16. *Ric.* II. of *Præmunire* was enacted, more ſevere and penal than all the former Statutes againſt Proviſors; and yet againſt this King, as againſt King *Edward* II, it was objected, at the Time of his Depoſition, that he had allowed the Pope's Bulls, to the Inthralling of the Crown.

Stat. 16 Ric. II, cap. 5.

After this comes a weak King *Henry* VI. and then another Attempt was made, if poſſible, to revive the uſurped Juriſdiction; for, the Commons denying the King Money, when he was in great Want, the Archbiſhop of *Canterbury* and the reſt of the Biſhops offered the King a large Supply, if he would conſent, that all the Laws againſt Proviſors, and

especially that of 16 *Richard* II, might be repealed; but the Duke of *Gloucester*, who before had burnt the Pope's Letters, caused this Motion to be rejected; so that all those Laws, by especial Providence, have stood in Force until this Day; all which, with the Resolutions, and judicial Judgments before specified, founded upon the ancient and good Laws of the Land, have inabled our Kings, at all Times since, to vindicate the just Rights of their Crown. But King *Henry* VIII, designing a farther Reformation, which could not be effected, whilst the Pope's Authority had any Life in *England*, took this Course: First, he writes to the Universities, the great Monasteries and Churches in his Kingdom, and, in particular, *May* 18, 1534, to the University of *Oxford*, requiring them, as Men of Virtue, Integrity, and profound Learning, diligently to examine, discuss, and resolve a certain Question of no small Import, *viz. An Romanus Episcopus habeat majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem sibi collatam in Sacra Scriptura in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam alius quivis externus Episcopus?* and to return their Opinion in Writing, under their common Seal, according to the mere and sincere Truth thereof. To which, after mature Deliberation and Examination, not only of the Places of the Holy Scriptures, but of the best Interpreters of the same, for many Days, they returned Answer, *June* 27, 1534: *Romanum Episcopum majorem aliquam Jurisdictionem non habere sibi à Deo collatam in Sacra*

In Archivis Oxon. ad An. 1534. Antiq. Eccl. Brit. fo. 384. 37.

cra Scriptura in hoc Regno Angliæ, quam alium quemvis externum Episcopum. Conformable to this was also the Resolution of all the *English* Clergy; upon which, and presently after, King *Henry* VIII. was by Parliament agnised supreme Head of the Church, in these his Dominions; whereby it was also enacted and declared, That the King his Heirs, and Successors, Kings of *England*, should have and enjoy, united and annexed to the imperial Crown of this his Realm, as well the Title and Style thereof, as all Honours, Dignities, Jurisdictions, *&c.* to the said Dignity of supreme Head of the Church of *England* belonging, or appertaining, with full Power and Authority to visit, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all Errors, Heresies, Abuses, *&c.* which Act, though much to the Support of the regal Authority, seemed not suddenly to be approved by the King, nor before he had consulted with his Council, (who shewed him many Precedents of Kings of *England* that had used this Power) and with his Bishops, who, having fully discussed the Point in their Convocations, declared, That the Pope had no Jurisdiction in this Kingdom warranted by God's Word; suitable to what was declared by the Universities, Colleges, and Religious Houses, with learned Men of all Sorts, maintaining it necessary that such a Power should be extant in the Realm, for the Peace, good Order, and Government of the same; the Reasons and Arguments of all

Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. cap. 1.

Lo. Herb. Hist. of Hen. VIII. fo. 380.

which were couched in a Book of the King's about that Time publiſhed, *De vera Differentia regiæ & eccleſiaſticæ Poteſtatis*; whence alſo the learned Biſhop *Andrews*, in his *Tortura Torti*, ſeems to have drawn divers Aſſertions of the regal Authority, to which the Reader is referred.

A Practice this, I mean of conſulting the Clergy and the Learned, in a Caſe of ſo great an Import, agreeable to former Precedents, as I find in *Thomas Walſingham*: *In Concilio Cleri celebrato Londoniis, aſſiſtentibus Doctoribus Univerſitatum Cantabrigiæ & Oxoniæ, tractatum eſt de Cenſu & Obedientia Papæ ſubtrahendis, vel non ſubtrahendis.* And as King *Henry* II. profeſſed he would proceed, in the great Cauſe depending between him and his Archbiſhop *Becket*.

Tho. Walſing. in An. 1408, fo. 420.

Rog. Hoveden in Hen. II. par. prior.

Now, when King *Henry* VIII. was by Parliament agniſed ſupreme Head of the Church within his own Dominions, and by him, for the Reaſons aforeſaid, owned and accepted; what they meant by this may well enough be collected from the Premiſes, and from that notable Oration of *Stephen Gardiner*, of true Obedience, before-mentioned: which Title he neither took, nor the Parliament gave, in any other Senſe, than the *French* have always attributed it to their Princes; and what the royal Anceſtors of King *Henry* VIII. himſelf aſſumed, under the *homonymous* Names of Tutors, Protectors, Governors, *Domini*, *Chriſti Vicarii*, *Agricolæ*, *&c.* and the like.

Spelm. Conc. 473. Seld. ad Eadm. 105. Leg. Edward. &c.

And

And this is the Supremacy which the Kings of *England* have always claimed and exercised within their own Dominions, with the temporary Obstructions above-mentioned; that is, in a sovereign Way, to rule and govern all their Subjects, of what Degree and Qualitiy soever; to call their own Clergy and Church-men together, and, with their Advice, to see the Church reformed; and, by Act of Parliament, to have all ecclesiastical Jurisdiction restored and united to the Crown, as, in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, was done, enlarged on before.

And here it will not be unnecessary to observe and know, how that Restitution was resented by the Queen's Subjects, at that Time; and, for that, observe (and observable it was) the general Compliance and Complacency of the People in it; as also that, from the First, until the eleventh Year of that Queen's Reign, no Person, of what Persuasion of the *Christian* Religion soever, at any Time, refused to come to the public Divine Service celebrated in the Church of *England*, and established by public Authority within this Realm, until the Bull of Pope *Pius* V, in the eleventh Year of her Majesty's Reign, came out against her; whereby he deprived her of all her Right, Authority, Dignity, and Privilege, in or unto these her Realms and Dominions, and absolved all her Subjects from their Allegiance. After this Bull it was, that those who regarded the Pope's Power, or Threats, more

Coke 5. Rep. de Jure Reg. Ecclesiastico, fo. 35.

than their Prince's just Authority, or their own Allegiance, refused to come to Church, and from that Occasion first acquired the Style of *Recuscants*. This gave Rise also to a Multitude of treasonable Practices, and Conspiracies against the Queen's Life; taken up also against King *James*; continued against our late Sovereign, King *Charles* I; and still fermenting to break forth upon all Opportunities to promote the Catholic Cause; and all abetted by the traitorous Doctrine of *King-killing*, justified and proclaimed to the World by *Bellarmine*, *Baronius*, *Mariana*, *Emanuel Sa*, *Allen*, *Creswell*, and others, both Natives and Strangers; the Consequence whereof was this, That, though Treason was always in the Intention, yet (God be praised) nothing hath yet been brought to Execution, but the Traitors.

Vid. Camb. Annal.

Vid. Arth. Crohagan's Case in Crook's 1. Rep.

Con Licenza & con Privilegio.

In this Affair, I find a memorable Observation of a grave Statesman, That, in the Indentures of Submission of the *Irish* to King *Henry* VIII, all the *Irish* Lords did acknowledge him to be their Sovereign Lord and King, and owned his Supremacy in all Causes, utterly renouncing the Pope's Jurisdiction; most worthy of Note (says he) in that, when the *Irish* had once resolved to obey the King, they made no Scruple to renounce the Pope.

Sir Jo. Davys's Disc. of Ireland, fo. 242.

Besides these which have been experienced in our own Country, infinite have been the Mischiefs, occasioned in the World, upon this Score of Supremacy and Dominion; and

that by the mighty Struggling and Bickerings that have been maintained between the Papacy, and the Princes of the Earth, about the Gaining and Keeping this Power. Besides the general Obſervations, that a great Means of the Growth of the *Turkiſh* Empire to its now formidable Stature hath been the Wars and Diſturbances, wrought upon this Ground, amongſt the *Chriſtians* themſelves. Alſo the Decay and Corruption of ſincere Piety and Devotion by the turning the Current of Religion, out of its pure primitive Channel, into the Sink of Diſputes and Controverſies about the Rights and Bounds of Dominion, when *Chriſt* himſelf hath told us, *That his Kingdom is not of this World.* This cauſed Divine Religion to degenerate into human Policy; and upon this it was, that *Machiavel*, too truly, obſerved, That there was no-where leſs Piety and Religion, than in thoſe that dwelt neareſt to *Rome*; the main Point of Religion there practiſed being how to draw this Prince, or that State, or Territory, under the ſpiritual Dominion of the Pope, there eſteemed the very *Atlas* of the World, with Power to depoſe, diſpoſe, and impoſe in all Kingdoms, as he pleaſes. But, for true *Chriſtianity*, *Hoſpinian* affirms, that the Name of *Chriſtian*, in the *Italian* Tongue, was uſed to note a Block-head and a Fool. Add to this the many Treaſons, Rebellions, Perjuries, Wars, and Commotions raiſed in *Chriſtendom* about this very Quarrel.

Mach. Diſc. on Tit. Liv. lib. 1. cap. 12.

Platin. in Vita Greg. VII.

Hoſpin. de Orig. Monach. lib. 6. cap. 66.

And for this main Drift of the Papacy for Dominion in all Places, but now mentioned; it is visible, that the Pope's Supremacy is the Foundation that supports the whole Building of that Hierarchy; and therefore it hath been thought necessary by them always to lay that Stone in the first Place: As, about the Year 1594, the Bishops of *South Russia*, being under the King of *Poland*, but of the *Greek* Church, submitted themselves to the Bishop of *Rome*, (in the Point of Jurisdiction) yet not without special Reservation of the *Greek* Religion and Rites, before they would acknowledge their Subjection; as appears by the Articles of Conditions extant. Whereby it is manifest, that the Pope aimed not so much to reduce those Churches to the Truth, as to his own Obedience; as the Emperors, and our Kings, *John* and King *Henry* VIII, were thundered against, only, for impugning the Pope's Supremacy, although they held all other Points of the *Romish* Religion.

Brierw. Inquir. cap. 18. fol. 138.

And as the Papacy gained in this Matter, in some Places, and in some Measure; so it lost much more in others; by straining and aspiring to an unlimited Authority, *suis & ipsa Roma Viribus ruit:* For, when the Pope and his Clergy endeavoured the Advancement of their Sovereignty over the World, upon this Occasion many Countries fell away, not only from the Dominion, but also from many other corrupt Doctrines of the Church of *Rome*. For when they perceived that the

chief

chief Struggle and Design were for temporal Greatness; that many Conclusions tending to that End were obtruded as Articles of Faith, so manifestly contrary to the Dictates of *Christianity*, and prejudicial to the Rights of others: Then both Princes, and People, began to look into their Title, and examine their Evidences, and, finding them all defective and defeasible, thought there was no other Remedy, but quite to cut off that Power that would not be confined: whereby this Image of Papal Supremacy became broken, and thrown down in many Countries, and is but in a tottering Condition in several others at this Day: The Kings and Princes of the Earth maintaining the just Rights of their Crowns and Kingdoms against this Usurpation, on these, and the like Grounds and Reasons, *viz.* That the Title and Power of Kings are far more ancient than this pretended spiritual Dominion, and *Quod prius est Tempore, potius est Jure:* and that in this Sense Grace destroyeth not Nature; and Kings must not lose by becoming *Christians*. That Dominion is expressly given in Scripture unto Kings, and is as expressly denied in Scripture unto the Clergy. That as the Pope claimeth, at best, to be but the Vicar of Christ, and that not as he was God; it is most certain that *Christ* never impeached, impaired, or imposed upon the temporal Right of any Man; the same Authority that Princes had, either by the Law of Nature, or of Nations, before his Coming, the same

he left untouched at his Departure; neither did any of the Apoſtles, or Diſciples, after his Receſs, ever innovate in the ſame. That the Church in this World is not at Home, but in a State of Perigrinancy and Militancy; and it is neither Reaſon, nor Juſtice, that Strangers ſhould either expel, or domineer over the ancient Inhabitants, and *Melior eſt Conditio Poſſidentis*, as the Lawyers ſpeak. That the proper Rights, and Qualities of Majeſty, and Sovereignty, are to be both perpetual, and abſolute, as not depending upon any other, nor ſubject to any Exception, or Raſtraint: That theſe Rights conſiſt in managing Affairs of the higheſt Nature, which cannot be ſeparated from the ſovereign Power, for, upon the Guiding of them, all the Fortunes of a State depend: That nothing is of ſo high a Nature, in a State, as Religion; for, inaſmuch as Religion commandeth the Conſcience, and holdeth the Soul in Subjection, if Supremacy therein be acknowledged in any Foreigner, the very Sinews (as I may ſay) of Sovereignty are cut aſunder: And it is the moſt deſtructive Error in Policy, and Government, to allow to any other a Power of Diſpoſing, or Declaring, in Matters of Religion, either beſides, above, or againſt the Prince himſelf: by which Means any King or Prince would ſoon be deſpoiled of his Authority, and his Subjects drawn from their due Allegiance, upon Pretences of Conſcience and Religion.

Σοιχεῖα βασιλείας. Sacra Regni, Sacra ſublimia.

Religio, à Religando.

But

But now, for a Conclusion of this Discourse touching the King's Supremacy, it will be but pertinent, and reasonably expected, to clear one Thing, *viz.* whereas, upon Restitution of that Right to the Crown, by the Statute made in the first Year of Queen *Elizabeth*, some were induced to conceive, by the Generality of the Words, that affirm her Majesty to be supreme Governor, as well in all Spiritual or Ecclesiastical Causes, as Temporal, *&c.* as if it had been an Usurping upon the Sacred Function of the Church, properly belonging to them in Sacred Orders. To give Satisfaction in this, we may, in the first Place, observe, in what Spheres, and in what Distances, all the Divines agree that the Ecclesiastical Authority doth move; and, for our Purpose at this Time, *Bellarmine* shall suffice for all, who divides Spiritual Power into that of *Ordinis*, and that of *Jurisdictions:* For that of *Ordinis*, it appears chiefly in the Administration of the Sacraments: That of Jurisdiction is held to be double; first, internal, where the Divine, or holy Man, by Demonstrations, Persuasions, Instructions, heavenly Counsel, and the like, so convinceth the inward Conscience of a Man, as it presently resigns, and yields Obedience to that which is proposed; as did those Three Thousand Souls, who were converted at the Preaching of St. *Peter*. Secondly, external, when *Christians, in Foro exteriori*, are compelled to their Duty and Obedience.

Bellarm. de Rom. Pont. lib. 4. cap. 22. f. 1.

Acts 2. 37, 41.

Now, for that first Power of Order, and for that Power of Jurisdiction internal; our Kings never claimed, or pretended to claim, or exercise them, or either of them: The Example of *Uzzah* sufficiently lessoning all Persons to keep within their due and proper Distances, and Offices, in God's Service; this bold Person being immediately
2 Sam. 6. 7. stricken by the Divine Hand, for his Error, and for his acting an irregular Part in the holy Procession of the Ark. And that of *Uzziah*, a King indeed, proclaiming aloud both the Sin, and Danger, in trespassing beyond the stated and just Bounds and Limits in Religious Offices, whilst, under
2 Chron. 26. 21. his usurped Pontifical Robes, he wore a loathsome Leprosy to his Dying-day, as a most signal Mark of the Divine Vengeance, for exchanging his Scepter for a Censer, to offer up unwarranted and noisome Incense. But (God be thanked) neither of these is the Case of our Kings, who otherwise have taken for their Patterns divers other
Hezekiah, Josiah, &c. noble, virtuous, and religious Princes, to whose Honour it is recorded, how, though they neither offered Sacrifice, nor Incense; yet that they cleansed the polluted Temple, reformed the corrupted Religion and Manners of their Times, and caused *Judah* and *Jerusalem* to serve the Lord. So ours never assumed to themselves a Power or Authority of Preaching, Teaching, Binding, or Loosing *in Foro Animæ*, Administering the Holy Sacra-

ments,

ments, Conferring Orders, or any Thing in particular properly annexed to those Orders: But only in Matters external, that is, of Jurisdiction external (the last Branch of Ecclesiastical Authority) and what belongs to the outward Polity of the Church, they look upon it as their Duty, and Honour, to become Nursing Fathers: To see that the true God be publicly worshipped: To see that Atheists, Polytheists, and all such as break the moral and eternal Law, be corrected, chastised, and restrained; upon which Account it is often said, that *Rex est Custos utriusque Tabulæ*: To see that good and wholesome Laws be made, and established for the good Government of the Church: That both the Church and Church-men be regulated, and defended in their respective Rights, Possessions, Interests, and Concerns; and that such as do transgress the lawful Constitutions of the Church be duly punished: and to this Purpose the Regal Office is thus described in King *Edward*'s Law: *Rex, quia Vicarius summi Regis est, ad hoc est constitutus, ut Regnum terrenum, & Populum Domini, &, super omnia, sanctam veneretur Ecclesiam ejus, & regat, & ab injurosis defendat.* And much to the same Purpose in those of *Ina*, *Canutus*, and others. And hence it also is that in those Laws we often find the Prince extending his Commands unto the same Things the Priest did his Exhortations.

Leg. Edw. Confes. cap. 17. fo. 142.

Jo. Brompt. Coll. 761, 923. &c.

And thus, the Premiſes conſidered, it plainly may be collected wherein the *formalis Ratio* of our King's Supremacy and Eccleſiaſtical Authority doth conſiſt; which, being inherent in their Crowns, they do, and may at all Times put in Practice, *ſine ulla Labe Chriſtianitatis*, and without praying the Aid of any foreign Power or Potentate whatſoever.

And farther, to anticipate all Prejudice and Scandal in this Matter, Queen *Elizabeth*, in the ſame Year of the Reſtitution of Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction to her Crown, did declare ſhe did not challenge any other Authority, than was challenged and lately uſed by King *Henry* VIII. and King *Edward* VI, which is, and was of ancient Time due to the imperial Crown of this Realm: that is, under God, to have the Sovereignty, and rule over all Manner of Perſons within her Realms and Dominions, *&c.* And for the Oath of Supremacy appointed by the ſaid Stat. 1 *Elizabeth*, whereby her Highneſs's Supremacy was declared in the Style aforeſaid; it was declared, in a Statute made in the next Parliament, That the ſaid Oath ſhall be taken and expounded in ſuch Form as is ſet forth in an Admonition annexed to the Queen Majeſty's Injunction, *&c.* At which Time alſo a Synod being held, for Avoiding of Diverſity of Opinions, and Eſtabliſhing of Conſent touching true Religion, *&c.* It did expreſſly declare, That they did not give to our

Admonitions annexed unto the Injunctions, 1 Eliz.

Stat. 5 Eliz. cap. 1.

Artic. 37.

our Princes the Miniſtering of God's Word, or the Sacraments: But only that Prerogative which is given in the Holy Scriptures by God himſelf, *viz.* That they ſhould rule all Eſtates and Degrees committed to their Charge by God, whether they be Eccleſiaſtical or Temporal, and reſtrain with the civil Sword the Stubborn and Evil-doers, *&c.* And the Articles of this Synod were likewiſe confirmed by Parliament. So that now no Man need doubt, but that all this was but an Acknowledgement, that what our Kings and Princes had done, in former Ages, might lawfully be continued by their Royal Succeſſors: and that therein they did not uſurp upon the Rights and Offices of others, but only maintained their own: and that all theſe declaratory, ſupervening Statutes, paſſed and enacted upon the moſt weighty Reaſons of State, were not introductory of any new Law, but only aſſertory of the juſt Rights and Prerogative of the Kings and Crown of *England.* Like as a Reformation once made in the ancient *Roman* Empire, by the Emperor *Antoninus Philoſophus*, is thus celebrated by *Julius Capitolinus* in his Life: *Jus autem magis vetus reſtituit, quam novum fecit.* Applicable, as well to all the other Points and Branches of the Reformation here, as to that of the King's Eccleſiaſtical Juriſdiction. But the Clearing, that I leave to the Divines.

Stat. 13 Eliz. cap. 12.

Jul. Capitolin. Vit. Ant. Phil.

And

And thus have I taken a brief View only (for much more might have been added out of our authentic Records and Hiſtories) as of the ancient Rights of Kings, and Princes in general, *ſo particularly of our* own in Matters Eccleſiaſtical: How the ſame have, for ſome Time, been ſuppreſſed and uſurped upon by the Papal Faction, but happily vindicated and reſtored in theſe latter Ages: In which Affair no Country hath proceeded more regularly, laudably, or legally, than this our Kingdom of *England*; the Princes of the ſame, as ſupreme within their own Dominions, calling together their own Clergy, and, with their Aſſiſtance and Advice, reforming the Church. And what remains now, but my Submiſſion, and Pardon, for the Preſumption of this Attempt upon my Sovereign's *Supremacy*: *ſeeing* that *Prince* may be ſaid, in a Manner, to be depoſed, that is made the Subject of an uſurping Pen.

FINIS.

BSB Bayerische StaatsBibliothek

MDZ Münchener DigitalisierungsZentrum Digitale Bibliothek

Staveley, Thomas

The Romish horseleech: or, an impartial account of the intolerable charge of popery to this nation, in an historical remembrance of some of those prodigious sums of money heretofore extorted from all degrees, during the exercise of the papal power here To which is annexed an essay of the

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